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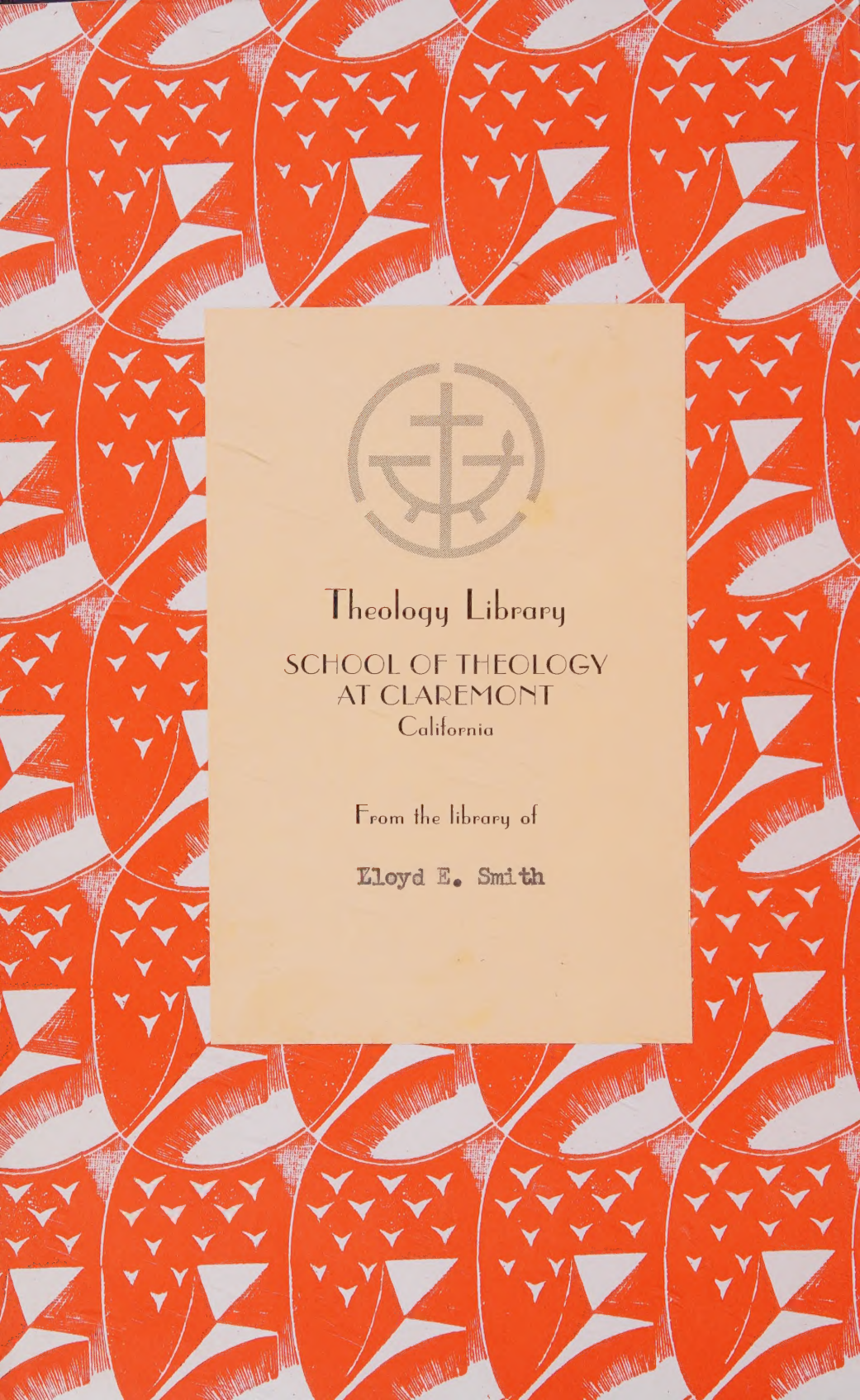

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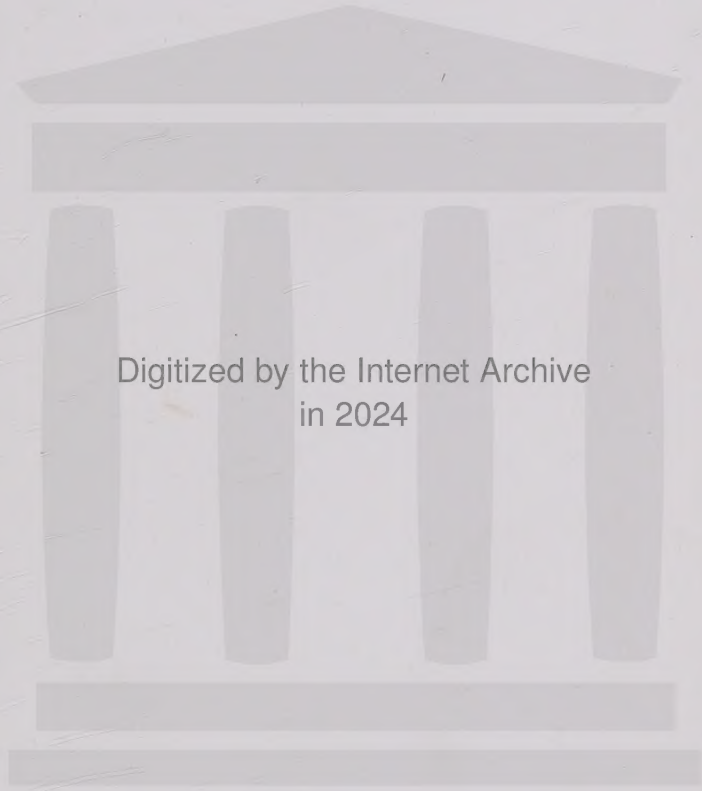
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Social Welfare forum.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL CONFERENCE on Social Welfare.

OF

CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

AT THE

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL SESSION HELD IN GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.
JUNE 4–10, 1896

EDITED BY
ISABEL C. BARROWS

BOSTON, MASS.: GEO. H. ELLIS, 141 FRANKLIN STREET
LONDON: P. S. KING & SON, 5 KING STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.
1896

PREFACE.

The twenty-third annual meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction was held at Grand Rapids, Mich., June 4–10, 1896. Two general sessions were held daily, and there were in addition at least twenty section meetings during the week. The latter were of great interest. Many of the papers read at these section meetings are included in the general report of the Proceedings; but the discussions were not preserved, except as they have been published in the *Charities' Review*. A desire has been expressed for fuller reports of section meetings hereafter.

The contents of this volume are varied. The address of President A. O. Wright, entitled "The New Philanthropy," in itself is almost an epitome of what is to follow in the remainder of the book. Mr. Wright's long connection with State charities, and his sincere and intelligent interest in all matters associated therewith, make him an authority when he speaks concerning them.

No student of social science can now afford to ignore what the various settlements throughout the country are doing. Their life in detail may well be studied, and the scientific information gathered by their residents among the working-people can nowhere else be duplicated. Seventy-six pages, nearly one-fifth of the volume, are devoted to "Social Settlements and the Labor Question." The twelve papers in this division would make a book by itself which every librarian should have upon his shelves.

The care of the insane, as usual, makes a chapter in these Proceedings, and perhaps the Wisconsin system has never been better set forth than in the paper by Mr. James E. Heg.

"The Care of Epileptics" is the title of a carefully prepared paper by Mr. William P. Letchworth, whose thoughtful contributions always add value to the Proceedings. Mr. Alexander Johnson, of the School for Feeble-minded in Indiana, gives a résumé of what is doing for this class in the United States,— one had almost said of how little is doing; and Mr. Ernest Bicknell, in another paper, shows how vast is the need of doing more.

Charity Organization has able advocates in Mr. C. S. Loch, of London, Dr. Philip W. Ayres, Professor C. R. Henderson, and others.

The Merit System in Public Institutions is treated in two admirable papers, strong, cogent and just, by Mr. Philip C. Garrett, of Philadelphia, and Professor Henderson, of Chicago.

Soldiers' Homes and their management are considered in the report of the committee on that subject.

The absence of the editor in Europe at the time the meeting was held prevented her from collecting the material for this report herself, and such papers only have been included as were sent to her for publication.

The next conference will be held in Toronto, Canada, probably in June, 1897. Mr. Alexander Johnson, Superintendent of the School for Feeble-minded Youth at Fort Wayne, Ind., will be President. The first bulletin relating to that meeting has just been issued by the General Secretary, H. H. Hart.

Boston, December, 1896.

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RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION.

Preamble.

The National Conference of Charities exists to discuss the problems of charities and correction, to disseminate information and promote reforms. It does not formulate platforms.

I. Membership.

The membership of a Conference shall include: —

(*a*) All past officers of the Conference who have served more than one year.

(*b*) Members and officers of State Boards of Charities or boards of kindred functions.

(*c*) Members of Boards of Management and officers of public and private charitable and correctional institutions.

(*d*) Members and officers of boards and societies organized for the relief or improvement of the poor, the unfortunate, or the neglected.

(*e*) Persons designated by State or municipal authorities or by the Local Committee.

(*f*) Others especially interested may be enrolled as members, and may share in the discussions, without the privilege of voting.

(*g*) Honorary members may be elected on recommendation of the Executive Committee.

(*h*) The annual membership fee shall be $2, which shall entitle each member to a copy of the Proceedings and other publications of the Conference.

(*i*) State Boards of Charities and other societies and institutions subscribing for the Proceedings in quantities shall be entitled to enroll their officers and members as members of this Conference, in proportion to the amount subscribed.

(*j*) The list of annual members shall be printed in the Proceedings, with asterisks marking those in attendance.

II. Officers.

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, three or more Secretaries, a Treasurer, and an Official Reporter and Editor, also a Corresponding Secretary for each State and Territory. These officers shall be elected annually by the Conference.

The ex-Presidents of the Conference shall be the Councillors, and shall be members of the Executive Committee *ex officio*.

III. Committees.

The standing committees shall be an Executive Committee and a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the ensuing Conference.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President *ex officio*, of seven members, to be elected annually by the Conference, and of the Councillors. Six members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The President, soon after the opening of the Conference, shall appoint a Committee on Organization of the next Conference and a Committee on Time and Place of the next meeting, each consisting of one member from each State and Territory; also a Committee on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate.

IV. Duties of Officers.

The officers of the Conference shall discharge the duties usually devolving upon such officers.

The President shall be chairman *ex officio* of the Executive Committee, and shall have the supervision of the work of the several committees in preparing for the meeting of the Conference and securing a suitable attendance. He shall have authority to accept resignations and fill vacancies in the list of officers and chairmen of committees. He shall have power to fill vacancies in, and to add to the numbers of, any committee, except the Executive Committee, in consultation with the chairman of the committee.

The Executive Committee shall have power to fill vacancies in its members.

The General Secretary shall be *ex-officio* Secretary of the Executive Committee, and Chairman of the Committee on Reports from the States. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Conference with officers, committees, and others, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the distribution of all announcements and programmes, and shall direct the work of the Secretaries and be responsible for the correctness of the roll of members. He shall be the custodian of the unsold copies of the reports of the Proceedings, receive all orders for the same, and direct their distribution.

He shall receive all membership fees and proceeds of sales of the reports of the Proceedings, and pay the same promptly to the Treasurer. He shall receive compensation for his services and an allowance for clerk hire and other expenses, the amount and time of payment of which shall be fixed by the Executive Committee from time to time.

The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all moneys of the Conference, all disbursements to be made only upon the approval of the President or of some member of the Executive Committee, to be named by the President.

The Official Reporter and Editor shall report and edit the Proceedings of the Conference, subject to the direction of the Executive Committee.

The Corresponding Secretaries shall be responsible for the annual reports from their several States. It should be their duty to secure the attendance of representatives from public and private institutions and societies, and the appointment by Governors of State Delegates in those States where there are no State Boards of Charities.

V. Duties of Committees.

The Executive Committee shall be the President's Advisory Board, and shall hold the powers of the Conference in the interim between the meetings.

The Local Committee shall make all necessary local arrangements for the meeting, and provide funds for the local expenses, such as hall rent, salary, and expenses of the Reporter, local printing, etc.

Each Committee on Subjects shall arrange the programme for the sessions and section meetings assigned to it, subject to the approval of the President.

The committee are required to arrange their programmes so as to give opportunity to free discussion.

No paper shall be presented to the Conference except through the proper committees.

VI. Debates.

In the debates of the Conference each speaker shall be limited to five minutes, except by unanimous consent, and shall not be allowed to speak twice on any one subject until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

VII. Amendments.

These rules may be suspended or amended at the pleasure of the Conference, but otherwise shall be in force from one year to another.

I.

President's Address.

THE NEW PHILANTHROPY.

BY ALBERT O. WRIGHT, OF MADISON, WIS.,

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, 1896.

Philanthropy in one form or another is as old as humanity. It began in the instinct of the mother to protect her young; it grew into the brotherhood of the family and the clan, based on ties of kindred and the need of mutual protection; it broadened into the sharing of food and shelter with one another characteristic of all savage tribes, and then into hospitality toward strangers, provided they were peaceful. It compelled the feuds based on blood revenge, which reduced the numbers of the clan, to be modified by money payments; it led to the saving of the lives of prisoners of war either for the profit of holding them as slaves or for the general good as adopted members of a tribe which needed recruits.

When civilization began, and despotism took the place of savage communistic democracy, and the disorganized fragments of society were organized into kingdoms by military force, even then the law of force did not absolutely rule mankind. Far from courts and armies, family love and neighborhood comradeship still taught the gentler virtues; while patriotism, under the form of loyalty, held up a large ideal of self-sacrifice for the good of a great cause. These were the virtues which made society possible under the despotism of Rameses, of Nebuchadnezzar, of Xerxes, and of Tiberius. The chroniclers of kings and generals have forgotten to speak of average humanity, and history has thus been left an insoluble puzzle on the false theory that court life fairly represented the common life of the people. The industrial communities which maintained the courts and armies of their tyrants had at least the industrial virtues.

Nor could they have been altogether governed by commercial selfishness without some gleams of kindly helpfulness to those in need.

So also on the side of thought. The philosophies of selfishness and the creeds of terror did not altogether rule the ancient world. Here and there were martyr souls who braved the unreasoning conservatism of ignorance to bring some fragment of new light to the little world which they knew. And the faith of these prophets has from time to time added some element of larger humanity to the world's thought. The greatest of these was Jesus, whom the civilized nations of Europe and their colonies now revere as the Founder of their religion. His gospel was the law of love, and all the forms of true philanthropy are necessary corollaries from that theorem. In his hands philanthropy became no longer local, partial, narrow, but wide as the world and lofty as heaven.

For nineteen centuries the Christian world has been slowly and painfully trying to realize that ideal and has only partially succeeded. Individuals have realized it for themselves; and now and again leaders like Saint Francis of Assisi, like Saint Paul de Vincent, like John Howard, like Dorothea Dix, like Abraham Lincoln, have led great movements toward a higher philanthropy. But the world has not yet begun to realize all that is contained in the germ in the great thought that we should love our neighbors as ourselves. That idea will not have fulfilled its mission till the world has been transformed, and the dream of prophets and poets has been realized in a world of peace and plenty and kindness for all, a world in which crime and poverty shall be unknown, and from which mental and physical diseases and defects shall be banished.

And yet, though we have not yet reached the millennium, the philanthropy of the present is far from being the same thing as the philanthropy of the past. For one thing it is working under very different conditions. This wonderful century now so near its close has witnessed a complete transformation of society in civilized nations. And only occasionally does some atrocity like the Armenian massacres by order of the Turkish government show by contrast how far we have advanced from that earlier time, when this would have been an ordinary method of a despotic government. The advanced nations are now united in a loose confederacy of Christendom, whose constitution is called International Law, and whose differences are coming more and more to be settled, not by war, but by peaceful

diplomacy and by arbitration. This century has witnessed a marvellous increase in the powers of civilized man over both nature and society. While steam and electricity have multiplied manifold the wealth, the population, the capacities for knowledge and enjoyment of these nations, their organized forces of society have been equally revolutionized. Popular representative government, the public school, the free church, the newspaper, the factory, the railroad, the labor union, the organization of charities, are all victories of the social organization, the result of the new industrial and moral forces at work transforming society. The growth of Christendom in wealth and population in this century is equal to its growth in the previous eighteen centuries, and its growth in intelligence and moral power has been equally rapid. Democracy is becoming triumphant, and is showing what it is capable of. The average comfort, intelligence, and virtue of the people of Great Britain and the United States, who stand at the head of the column of march, is such as no Plato or Sir Thomas More could dream of in their Republics and Utopias.

Among the triumphs of philanthropy in the nineteenth century are these: imprisonment for debt has been abolished; judicial torture has been done away; accused persons are now assured fair trials, with lawyers to defend them and a right to subpœna witnesses; the death penalty has been nearly and in some places quite abolished; prisons have been transformed, so that most of them are now wholesome places of labor instead of physical and moral pesthouses; juvenile delinquents are reformed instead of made criminals by the processes of the law, and reformation is coming more and more to be the ideal of prisons for adults; we have given eyes to the blind and speech to the deaf; we have provided kindly care for the insane and the idiots, instead of leaving them to the accidental cruelty or neglect of ignorance; we have provided for the relief of paupers in more careful and effectual ways; the great pestilences which formerly caused such loss of life and destruction of health have been almost stamped out; and the conditions of city life, to which so large a part of our people are removing, are now as healthful as the country. In short, government has been forced to become the protector of the poor as well as the agent of the powerful, and philanthropy has become a part of the business of the State, and not merely the self-assumed sacrifice of a few individuals.

The great inventions of this century have increased the pay of the

workingman and decreased the cost of living, so that the comforts and the opportunities of the poor are far greater than a century ago; and their real complaint is not that their condition has not been improved, but that they have not received their full share of the general increase in wealth. The external conditions which produce poverty and crime have been thus much improved, but we have not abolished the internal conditions.

The diseases which swept away the weak and sickly are now restrained; and the weak and sickly live to propagate a bad heredity, and to add to the sum of human misery. We do not mean to let any one starve; and, consequently, pauperism in some places is still a hereditary profession or caste, as it so largely was centuries ago. So complicated are the springs of human life that our very efforts to improve the conditions of the defective classes have tended to increase them. Nature, in her ruder moods, and savage man, who is near to nature, improve the species by the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. Philanthropy helps the survival of the unfittest as well as of the fittest, and, what is worse, gives opportunity for the unfittest to propagate their weakness and wickedness, and entail them on future generations.

The New Philanthropy of the dawn of the twentieth century, which is so fully represented in this magnificent congress of philanthropy, has certain distinguishing characteristics.

On the philosophical side it studies causes as well as symptoms, and it considers classes as well as individuals. On the practical side it tries to improve conditions, thus changing the environment of the defective. It tries to build up character as well as to relieve or punish, believing that the essential cause of pauperism or crime is usually some defect inside the pauper or criminal as well as bad conditions around him; and it seeks for prevention as well as for cure.

To illustrate this, take the noble work done by child-saving and juvenile reformatory agencies of all kinds. By various methods these various agencies are all aiming at the ends just named, and are largely accomplishing them. They seek prevention as well as cure, and aim to do this by improving the conditions of the neglected or criminal children, and by building up character in a different environment.

Or take the question of outdoor relief as an illustration of the

wrong method. Outdoor relief does not change the conditions of the pauper. It does not build up his character: it neither prevents nor cures pauperism. It is, therefore, contrary to the principles of the new philanthropy, which would meet the same case by a system of friendly visiting and employment bureaus, and, where these failed to cure pauperism, would place adult paupers in institutions where they could not propagate their parasitical blood or teach their accompanying vices, and would give their children a chance to begin life under better teaching and with better opportunities.

The New Philanthropy is slowly winning its way. It is cutting off the entail of hereditary pauperism and crime and insanity and idiocy in a very large degree by keeping defectives in institutions, which resemble heaven in at least one particular, because there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage in them. Viewed in this light, the immense mass of people held in mild imprisonment in State and local institutions are, on the whole, wisely kept there. Unless we are prepared for the drastic measures of wholesale death or equally wholesale castration, we must cut off defective heredity by the more expensive but more humane method of wholesale imprisonment. And, while it is thus cutting off defective heredity, it is also destroying the dangers of bad environment for children by removing them from it.

The New Philanthropy claims as its own the work recently begun by the social settlements, which has already moved hundreds of devoted men and women to do unselfish and unpaid work in bridging over the gulf between the rich and the poor, and in carrying to neglected and despondent souls some glimpse of life and cheer, and opening out to them some higher opportunities and ideals for their lives.

The New Philanthropy also claims as its own the recent rapid rise of the study of sociology in our institutions of learning. Philanthropy is thus raised to the rank of a science, the practical and the theoretical are yoked together, and a large number of able young men and women are looking forward to making this their life-work.

The New Philanthropy has not yet found adequate expression in literature or in song. It has been thus far more fruitful in deeds than in words. The two books of Wines and Warner, both members of this Conference, are, so far, the best manuals for charities and corrections. But in literature proper it would be hard to find much

that is good literature which at the same time represents the thought of the New Philanthropy. Generally, these subjects are avoided by writers of novels and of verse; but, if touched on, it seems to be the sentimental side only which attracts the writer. I have had my attention called forcibly to the fact that the New Philanthropy has not yet blossomed out into song. I have sought the aid of a large number of our members in searching for songs or hymns specially appropriate for such a gathering as this or for any meeting related to charity work. The net result was so small as to be very disappointing. Most of the small number of appropriate hymns are given in Professor F. G. Peabody's new hymnal for the use of Harvard University. Of the hymn-books used by the great denominations, scarcely one contains anything on this form of practical Christianity. The New Philanthropy must bring song and story into its service, or it will not reach the popular heart. Here is a field for some of our writers and thinkers.

The New Philanthropy in America has still some Herculean tasks before it, with which it has begun to grapple; but the difficulties in the way are mostly practical rather than theoretical ones, for this Conference would not widely differ on the things which ought to be done with the defective classes. These practical difficulties are all rooted in public opinion only partially informed, and are to be met by fully informing public opinion, and bringing it up to the higher standard voiced by this Conference.

One of these difficulties is the misdirected sympathy for unfortunates, which does not realize that the protection of the public is the first consideration, and which pities the criminal rather than his victims, the pauper rather than his posterity, and the tramp rather than the community he inflicts himself upon. Much of this misdirected sympathy is an incidental result of the modern growth of the philanthropic spirit. It is caused by imperfect knowledge, and will disappear with greater knowledge.

Another great difficulty in the way comes from the use of our charitable and penal machinery for political purposes. This is an incidental result of the greater fact that government is concerned with philanthropy at all, and it will disappear with the reforms in the machinery of government which are rapidly coming about.

Another great difficulty arises from the conservatism of our

democratic public opinion, which makes all reforms hard, but which, when these reforms are once accomplished, will sustain them with equal conservatism.

And a fourth difficulty, which is a difficulty of theory as well as of practice, is that the general public has not yet begun to realize, and that many of this Conference are only beginning to see, that there is a solidarity of the defective classes, that we are confronted not with a dozen different questions, but with one question in different phases. The criminal, the pauper, the tramp, the neglected child, even many of the insane and the idiotic, are all interrelated with one another, and are mutually exchangeable. The object of the treatment of all is, first and foremost, the protection of society; and this protection is to be secured in all these cases by essentially the same methods,— by cure, if possible; and, where cure is not possible, then by some form of guardianship, in or out of an institution. A striking illustration of this is found in the Massachusetts State Farm at Bridgewater, where the insane criminals, the tramps, and the chronic paupers are all in the same institution, and under substantially the same treatment, which with slight differences is equally adapted for all these three classes.

The greatest task for the New Philanthropy is in the treatment of crime. For over a century the spirit of William Penn, as voiced at the settlement of his colony, urged that prisons should be made healthful homes of industry instead of pesthouses of idleness and schools of crime, till about the beginning of this century prison reform began in Pennsylvania. At that time America led the world in reforming the barbarous penal code and the equally barbarous mediæval prisons. Europe imitated and improved upon us; and to-day Great Britain and Ireland, by a prison system based upon reformatory principles, are reducing rapidly the amount of crime, while America is still allowing it to increase. But the barbarous convict lease system of many States, the cruelties of which were first fully exposed in a remarkable address before this Conference,* is giving way for the more humane but less profitable penitentiary system; and we may hope that these worse than Siberian atrocities will soon be banished from the free soil of America.

The county jail system, fortified as it is by the power of local politics, still stands as the nursery of crime and the means of an enormous

* "The Convict Lease System in the Southern States," by George W. Cable, Louisville, 1883.

waste of both money and manhood. Only in a few localities is there labor in jails or separation of prisoners, and only in a few places has the corrupting fee system for officers been entirely abolished. Here is a fruitful field for local philanthropists in all parts of our country to do valuable work in their own communities.

The State prison system as ordinarily carried on is somewhat injured by political management of appointments and of contracts, but is on the whole fairly satisfactory as long as the treatment of crime is based on the idea of punishment. This Conference is substantially agreed that the whole theory of our laws for the treatment of crime should be changed to the idea of protection to society through the reformation of the criminal, if possible, and, if he is not capable of reformation, through his being kept under guardianship in prison or outside for a long term of years. This change has already been made in some States in whole or in part, and, when made in all, will naturally bring about some needed changes in prison management to conform to that higher idea. Among these changes will be the abolition of contract labor and the adoption of the indeterminate sentence and conditional liberation of prisoners. To reorganize our whole prison system so that it shall be based upon the idea of protecting society instead of that of executing vengeance upon the offender, of restoring manhood instead of crushing it, will be a remarkable achievement; but I do not despair of seeing even this great task accomplished in the next quarter-century.

The New Philanthropy has as its favorite task to-day, to which volunteer philanthropists are everywhere giving their best energies, to extirpate pauperism. Public outdoor relief is rooted in local politics, in false sympathy for the pauper, and in the conservatism of established custom; but city after city is cutting it off or greatly reducing it. The slums, which are the nesting-places of pauperism and crime, are being invaded by social settlements and by friendly visitors; the charity organization societies are breaking up professional pauperism; the child-saving agencies are cutting off the entail of pauperism upon children; legislation is being invoked to destroy the tenement house and the sweat-shop and to prohibit child labor. With all this wealth of wisdom and of worth expended upon the problem, needless pauperism ought soon to be nearly abolished.

The tramp question is one which only needs honest and concerted effort by the public authorities and by private citizens to almost absolutely eliminate it. That it is still a question for philanthropy to deal with comes from the easy good nature of our people, from the corrupt connivance of local officers who plunder the public by means of the vagrancy laws, and from the narrow notions of local authorities who take the easiest rather than the most effective means for dealing with tramps. The moment that any city or county or State seriously sets to work to apply the labor test to all vagrants the hoboes leave that community. I consider this one of the easiest tasks now before philanthropists.

The cure of the insane, where that is possible, is true philanthropy. But so small a part of the insane are actually cured that we are accumulating a mass of chronic insane most of whom must be supported by the public the rest of their lives. The problem in this case is to provide humane care for all of them, not for a part only at the expense of the rest, to make them as nearly self-supporting as possible, and to prevent the propagation of insane heredity. In my opinion this is being most satisfactorily done in my own State, Wisconsin, though nearly every State is doing a great deal in the care of the insane by somewhat different methods, intended to reach the same end. The actual treatment of the insane in America approaches very close to the ideal for the treatment of the defective classes, to cure them if we can, and, if not, to put them under guardianship in order to protect society against any harm they may do, and especially against the propagation of a bad heredity. The treatment of idiots is on the same principle, but has not yet been practically applied to anything like so large a part of the class to be treated. While we may differ on the questions of expensiveness and appropriateness of buildings, or of massing great numbers together or scattering them in smaller groups, most of the States represented in this Conference have adopted this as their settled policy of treating the insane and idiots, so that this is no longer so serious a question for the philanthropist as it once was.

The most effective popular argument for the changes which the New Philanthropy is calling for is that which appeals to the popular sense of economy. The waste of money in our crude and inefficient ways of dealing with defectives is only exceeded by the waste of manhood. We manage, by our blundering ways, to make

our million or so of defectives cost us more than it would cost to keep several millions of average persons. The counties of Wisconsin pay out of their treasuries each year something like $200,000 for the commitment and detention of tramps. One-fifth of that sum, if properly managed, would apply the labor test and rid the State of tramps. Certain State hospitals for the insane have cost for construction each nearly a million dollars, four or five times what they should have cost, had architectural display been avoided. This unnecessary cost of building has entailed increased cost of annual maintenance, and has prevented the erection of buildings enough for all the insane. In some States hundreds of thousands of dollars are paid to private institutions to bring up the children of the State, when these same children would be in more healthful and more natural conditions in private families at no expense to the State. It is not a wild statement to make that in these and other wasteful ways the public treasuries, national, State, and local, expend every year some hundreds of millions of dollars more than they ought to do in the care and treatment of criminals, paupers, insane, tramps, and neglected children, and that this money is not only wasted, but worse than wasted, because it goes to maintain defectives in idleness who should be made to earn a part of their support, because it goes to corrupt public officials, and because it promotes the growth of insanity and pauperism and vagrancy. The waste of manhood which arises from our toleration of tramps, from our encouragement to beggary in unwise almsgiving, and from the misuse of penal machinery to create professional criminals out of boys convicted for a first offence, and from enforced jail and prison comradeship which ripen into association in crime, cannot be computed in terms of dollars and cents. But even here it is easy to see that the increase of crime and pauperism brought about in these ways means a greatly increased pecuniary burden on the public. The New Philanthropy, then, is an economic force; and it is easy to justify it to the apprehension of the average tax-payer. The object of the New Philanthropy is not to increase the number of those over whom the State holds guardianship or the cost of their maintenance. Sometimes it may call for a larger expenditure for a short time; but this is in the nature of a wise investment for the future, which will in the end lead to greater economy. The economic object of the New Philanthropy is to reduce the number of the defective classes, to

make them as nearly as possible self-supporting, and to protect the public against the dangers to life and health and property they are liable to occasion. This is far-sighted economy.

This National Conference of Charities and Correction has shared in the rapid development of philanthropic thought and activity of the last quarter-century. Its origin was in the State Boards of Charities. These boards were the first efforts made in America toward organizing charity and seeking for the principles on which it should be conducted. They soon found the need of a national as well as a State organization, and this Conference was the result. Soon the superintendents and trustees of the State institutions and other institutions supervised by them were also invited to add their accumulated wisdom. The word "Correction" was added to the title of the Conference some time after it was first organized, in order to claim jurisdiction over the prison question. A little later, when the charities of cities began to be organized, the societies representing that movement were brought into this Conference; and private societies and institutions naturally followed. We have at various times invited several bodies to meet with us, which claim that they are not charities for various reasons,— the social settlements, the soldiers' homes, the institutions for the deaf and the blind. Whether right or wrong, the fact remains that the name "charities" is objectionable, as applied to their own work, to these different classes of workers for the good of humanity. The word "National" in our title was once inclusive, but it has now become exclusive. Our Canadian brethren, who have been welcomed by us for several years, are now asking the National Conference of Charities and Correction to meet at Toronto; and, doubtless, our disposition is to do so, if not next year, then at some time in the near future. For these reasons I believe the time has come for us to change our name to that of American Congress of Philanthropy or some similar designation.

The growth of the Conference has been such that we have recently been led to organize several section meetings. This year twice as much time is given to section meetings as before. And it is a serious question pressed upon us by some of our best members whether we ought not to give the whole day to section meetings, reserving the evenings only for general public meetings with addresses

on popular topics. To do this will require such changes in our organization that many of our older members object to it. This question will come up at this Conference, and it is better that it should be fully discussed than that it should be decided by a committee reporting at the end of the session.

This Conference has grown so in power and popularity that several cities are contending for the honor of having the Conference as their guest next year. I have received official invitations from Topeka, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Toronto; and it is possible that others may be added. Each of these places has claims which ought not to be disregarded, and the Conference cannot well go astray in its choice. I recommend, however, that in deciding upon the place of the next meeting the Conference give the Executive Committee power to change the location, if it is necessary to secure better rates from the railroads or better local facilities. This recommendation is not based upon any experience of this year, but upon that of previous years.

We live in a country and an age where government is carried on by public opinion. We have met to consider the great problems relating to the treatment of the defective and delinquent classes. We adopt no platform, we profess no creed by which to test the orthodoxy or the heterodoxy of workers or thinkers in this field. We welcome to our platform every one who has something worth saying, whether we all agree with it or not. And out of all that is said a consensus of opinion is growing up on many subjects, not fossilized, however, but ever open for new light. For this reason the volumes of our Proceedings have come to be the most valuable mine that exists for students of sociology to delve in. We are not only forming our own opinions, but we are making public opinion. The institutions and the organization of philanthropy are responding to the thoughts which here find a welcome home; and this Conference has become one of the most effective means for the reorganization of philanthropic work, so as to bring it all into line with the principles of the New Philanthropy.

II.

Reports from States.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON REPORTS FROM STATES.

The committee have this year made an effort (without much success, as will be seen) to bring these reports into greater uniformity, and have secured their reception and printing earlier than usual, so that they are mainly before the Conference in type, and can appear early in the annual volume. This will facilitate the printing of the rest of the volume, and will enable the discussions to proceed with a fuller knowledge of what each State has done, or what it may need, to bring its charitable work into line with those States which have been most fully organized. As a rule, these are the larger or the older States, where charity and correction have gradually differentiated, and have classified both their objects and the mode of treatment. The summary report of Pennsylvania shows this classification on a scale easily understood; and it has been followed with some modifications, chiefly with regard to the proportion of the delinquents and dependants to the whole population, in reports from Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, etc. If the Corresponding Secretaries in each State would seek to give this relative proportion of exceptional classes to the total population, an element of much value would be introduced into our discussions; and the practice would be found in a few years to have removed or modified many of those discrepancies which now appear in the comparative statements of different sections of the United States and of Canada. From Canada, this year, we have a report which deals almost wholly with one class of the dependants,— the prisoners.

The reports of the large States of Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan, and the smaller States of New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Delaware, contain much to indicate substantial progress in the development and organization of their charitable work; and no State

seems to have gone backward. A movement in Massachusetts for the revision and simplification of the statutes on these subjects might well be followed in other States, though few have a code so complicated as that of Massachusetts.

There, an act which may prove important, and yet may be quite ineffective (as such commissions have heretofore been), has provided for a State commission to revise the laws affecting prisoners, paupers, children, and the insane, and to investigate their present administration. Its scope is broad; and, since experienced and impartial men are appointed (Dr. C. F. Folsom, Professor D. R. Dewey, and W. H. Wharton), they can much amend for the better the too complicated Massachusetts system.

A striking feature of most of the reports which mention insanity at all is the constant and rapid increase of the insane. In few States have the statistics on this subject been so carefully collected as in Massachusetts.

In a year, the recoveries among the 8,500 insane in Massachusetts do not exceed 500, while the deaths are at least 600. The 1,100 thus removed from the list by death or recovery have their place more than made good by the new cases constantly arising or the relapse of recovered cases. If it were not so, the insane would cease to accumulate (as they do) at the rate of 250 a year. It is not probable that so many enter by immigration as are removed by emigration or by official removals, — the latter reported last year as 386. Probably no New England State contains so large a proportion of the insane as Massachusetts, though they increase everywhere.

It is to be desired that other States furnish such information.

A summary of the groups indicated in the reports from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, etc., gives for the latter State (omitting the blind and deaf) the following aggregates: —

	Persons in Year.	*Present Number.*	*Estimated Cost.*
Delinquents (criminals and insubordinates)	25,000	8,300	$600,000
Destitutes (aged, children, sick)	28,000	10,800	1,200,000
Defectives (insane, idiotic, etc.)	10,000	8,100	1,200,000
Add the outdoor poor	37,000	20,000	1,000,000
Aggregates (approximate) . . .	100,000	47,200	$4,000,000

That is to say, 1 in every 25, in course of a year, comes into one or another of these classes; 1 in every 53 of the population

is habitually in some class; and the cost of the whole system is not less than $1.60 for every man, woman, and child in Massachusetts. Although these figures look large, they seem within bounds, all things considered.

If we could assume these as the ratios and cost of the other States and Territories, pauperism and crime, with their administrative cost, would present most formidable problems in our country. But, fortunately, it is only in the older States, and not all of those, that the numbers and proportions of the poor and vicious take this extreme form. In order to offer at one view an estimate of population, etc., in our whole country at the present time, we subjoin a table (see page 16), carefully made up from estimates of the governors and other officials or from this committee's own knowledge, of present population, and calculations concerning the charities and correctional establishments of certain States.

Imperfect as this table is, it yet gives certain facts worthy of comment. The statistical reports last year presented at New Haven, when corrected for omissions, showed something more than 85,000 insane inmates of State establishments, including the government hospital at Washington, D.C. If the insane in county and private asylums had been added, the total would have gone above 100,000; and the addition of poorhouses and jails would have carried the aggregate above 110,000. This was in 1894–95. Our table now shows that in Massachusetts 1 in every 357 of the population is insane; in Oregon the ratio is 1 in 363; in New York, about 1 in 350; in Delaware, 1 in 462; in New Jersey, 1 in 507; in Minnesota, 1 in 550; but in Pennsylvania only 1 in 900, and in Texas 1 in 1,670. This discrepancy in States lying so near each other as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, shows that all the insane are not reckoned in, although serious differences in the ratio would be found upon accurate computation. For this there are accidental reasons in some cases. Thus, if all the 1,700 insane of the government hospital were credited to the population of the District of Columbia (270,000 by estimate), the ratio there would be 1 in every 159. Equalizing the proportion in the different parts of the Union, the average ratio for the whole country must be at least 1 in 500, which would give for all the States and Territories about 143,000 insane persons. This number cannot well be less, and may be more. Were the ratio everywhere as high as in New York and

TABLE OF POPULATION, CRIME, INSANITY, ETC., IN 1896

States.	Population.	Number in Prison.	Number Insane.	Cost of Charity.
Alabama	1,600,000	No report.	No report.	No report.
Arkansas	1,600,000	1,000	500	"
California	1,220,000	No report.	4,500	"
Colorado	450,000	"	475	"
Connecticut	800,000	1,400	2,350	$1,367,000
Delaware	185,000	No report.	400	No report.
Florida	485,000	"	No report.	
Georgia	2,000,000	"	3,000	
Idaho	130,000	"	No report.	
Illinois	4,500,000	"	8,000	
Indiana	2,500,000	"	4,000	
Iowa	2,100,000	"		
Kansas	1,350,000	—	1,550	
Kentucky	2,200,000			
Louisiana	1,225,000			
Maine	700,000	675	1,300	700,000
Maryland	1,140,000			
Massachusetts	2,500,000	7,330	7,000	4,000,000
Michigan	2,300,000	2,500	3,500	
Minnesota	1,610,000	943	2,925	1,450,000
Mississippi	1,400,000	1,000	1,000	300,000
Missouri	3,200,000			
Montana	185,000			
Nebraska	1,158,000			
Nevada	60,000			
New Hampshire	400,000	415	1,000	
New Jersey	1,675,000	1,700	3,700	
New York	7,150,000	12,241	20,216	20,000,000
North Carolina	1,720,000	2,000	2,000	
North Dakota	225,000	—	300	
Ohio	4,000,000	7,500	10,000	2,300,000
Oregon	400,000	400	1,100	
Pennsylvania	5,760,000	5,100	10,000	
Rhode Island	385,000	450	837	
South Carolina	1,375,000			
South Dakota	332,000			
Tennessee	1,800,000	—	2,000	
Texas	2,840,000	4,400	1,700	
Utah	255,000			
Vermont	335,000	300	900	150,000
Virginia	1,750,000	1,800	2,500	
Washington	415,000	410	753	
West Virginia	875,000		1,200	
Wisconsin	1,938,000	—	4,000	
Wyoming	100,000			
Total States	70,628,000			
Territories	1,000,000			
United States	71,628,000			

Note.—Thirty States, with a population of 53,500,000, report here 102,000 insane. At this rate the whole country would have about 145,000 insane.

Massachusetts, there would be more than 200,000 insane persons in the United States. Even as low as in Wisconsin (1 in 485), there would be 147,000.

No equalization of the ratio of prisoners to population can well be made, because the offences for which persons are sent to prison are so various in the different sections. But it may be noted that, if all the States and Territories committed to prison as thoroughly as Massachusetts, there would be now at least 208,000 prisoners in the whole land. The actual number is probably less than 100,000.

The cost of our national charities and correction has never been exactly reported, and perhaps never can be. Judging by New York and Massachusetts, where this cost is greatest, it would seem that we pay from $1.60 to $3 per capita for the annual support of our charities, prisons, etc.; but the actual outlay is much less. Instead of paying $114,000,000 yearly, as by the Massachusetts ratio we might, or $225,000,000, which the New York ratio indicates, the whole United States probably pays less than $75,000,000, or about $1 per capita for our whole population, estimated now at between 71,000,000 and 72,000,000. In some States it is much less than $1 per capita; but in others the amount is far greater, and that is probably a good average sum. Computed in this way, the importance of the methods of preventing and checking crime, insanity, and pauperism, is at once seen. And it is these which this Conference seeks to find out and make known.

Some methods of prevention not often considered are mentioned in the report from Connecticut. It might be well if each State would report what is done or proposed in these ways, in the information to be given next year. We also recommend that there be uniformity in the reports up to a certain point, and therefore propose that the Corresponding Secretaries be asked in 1897 to answer the following questions, or, rather, give statements upon all the points here mentioned, namely: —

I. The number of prisoners in State, county, and district prisons at the latest available date, specifying the number in each class.

II. The number of the insane in all the hospitals and asylums, public and private, at the latest available date, intimating how many are in State establishments, and whether there are any in poorhouses or private families supported by the public.

III. An estimate of the number of the sane poor, including

children, specifying how many, at a given date, were in establishments, almshouses, homes, etc., and how many at the same date were receiving outdoor relief, and were not in any establishment. (Usually, this could only be an estimate, no count of the outdoor poor being accessible in most States; but a careful estimate is better than anything but a very exact census, such as we seldom get anywhere.)

IV. In States where it is possible, an estimate of the number of the idiotic, epileptic, and feeble-minded with the number in State establishments.

With such facts stated year by year, our figures concerning crime, insanity, and pauperism, would become far more trustworthy than they now are.

H. H. Hart,
F. B. Sanborn,
R. O. Gilliam,
Committee.

St. Paul, Minn., Aug. 25, 1896.

ALABAMA.

BY MISS JULIA S. TUTWILER, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The legislature of Alabama meets biennially. Consequently, the report for this year must be substantially the same as that of last year as regards the status of our convicts. I stated last year that by the determined effort of one legislator the section making the usual appropriation for the prison night schools was omitted from the convict bill passed by the legislature of 1894–95. This omission caused the immediate cessation of the schools of the old Penitentiary, where most of the boys and women are kept, and that at Coalburg, where county convicts, including women, are employed.

The friends of the "brothers in stripes" consoled themselves with the thought that at least four night schools — those at Pratt Mines, worked by the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company — would continue their beneficent work. This company obtained their lease of ten years by a liberal offer, which included the promise to relieve the State of the expense of maintaining these schools, promising to pay the teachers forty dollars per month. For some time they have maintained two schools, one for white prisoners and one for colored.

at each of the two prisons they own, Shaft Number One and Slope Number Two.

Since the other schools have been suspended, the company have adopted a policy in regard to theirs which is almost equivalent to abolishing them. They have claimed the privilege of appointing the teachers themselves; and, instead of selecting suitable persons for this office, they now appoint the hospital stewards to this position, thus making the salary of one official answer for the two offices. A hospital steward who does his duty properly cannot serve successfully as the teacher of the night school or the Sunday-school, even if he had the time. The strict control which he must maintain is antagonistic to the spirit in which a teacher should approach them. Only one of the schools at Pratt Mines, that for colored convicts at Shaft Number One, has still a regular teacher who is not a hospital steward. An average of from thirty to forty men attend this night school. The Sunday-school has generally from one hundred to one hundred and fifty attendants.

Very simple books, such as are suitable for boys from twelve to fourteen, would be very acceptable for the library of these schools. The pupils are too ignorant to enjoy more advanced literature. Alger's books for boys, Abbott's "Franconia Stories," "Robinson Crusoe," and bound volumes of *St. Nicholas* and *Harper's Young People* can be used.

The State farm at Speigner's Station is still in its infancy, but promises to be a success when the first expenses of its establishment have been paid. Mississippi has made a financial success with her State farm on a similar plan.

The most important project of prison reform now on hand is one planned by our governor. It is his intention to build a cotton mill at Speigner's Station during the coming year, and to employ the women and boys and those men unsuited to other labor in this mill. They will thus learn a species of skilled labor especially adapted to their section, and will be able to earn their own support. The fact that they will be entirely under the charge of the State will make it easy to arrange hours for mental and moral instruction. The friends of prison reform look with earnest hope to the realization of this scheme.

Our county jails are still in a very unsatisfactory condition. For the third time we have tried in vain to get a bill passed by the legis-

lature requiring every county in the State to add an enclosed court-yard to its jail, so as to allow its inmates daily exercise in the open air. We failed again to accomplish this, but we shall try again and again until we succeed.

An important meeting took place in Birmingham during the present month.

By permission the Secretary for Alabama, together with other friends of prison reform, attended the Ministers' Union Meeting. The formation of a State branch of the Conference of Charities and Correction was discussed. All present expressed great interest in this subject, but asked for further information before organizing. We trust that such an organization, having its headquarters at Birmingham, will be in existence before the time for preparing another report.

ALASKA.

BY REV. SHELDON JACKSON, D.D., CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

As in former years, Alaska has very little to report. Being without even a Territorial legislature, we have no power to accomplish any legislation; and, consequently, nothing has been proposed or accomplished in that direction during the past year. Largely for the same reason there has been no special movement of public sentiment in this direction, and no institutions created or contemplated. The only work that is being accomplished for dependent or delinquent children is done by the several missionary societies who have organized work in Alaska. First and foremost, for the money expended and numbers cared for, is the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church. They have homes for the care and training of such children of both sexes at Haines, Juneau, Jackson, and at Sitka. At Sitka the trades are taught, and an industrial education carried on parallel with the literary education. In addition to the work done by the Presbyterians in Southeast Alaska, the Moravians are caring for a number of children at their three principal stations of Carmel, Bethel, and Ougavig.

The Episcopalians have schools upon the Yukon River at Anvik and Fort Adams.

The Baptist women of the United States have established a mission home at Wood Island, near Kadiak, where they have between twenty and thirty dependent children under their care.

The women of the Methodist Home Mission Society have a similar institution at Unalaska, with perhaps thirty inmates, mostly girls.

The Swedish Evangelical Society has homes at Yakutatat, Unalaklik, and at Golovin Bay.

The Roman Catholics have homes at Koserefski, and the Friends, or Quakers, at Douglass and Kake Islands.

ARIZONA.

BY IRA B. HAMBLIN, M.D., CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The number of inmates in the Arizona Asylum for the Insane May 1, 1896, was: males, 103; females, 27. Total, 130.

There has been nothing of importance accomplished in the way of legislation for the care and treatment of the insane of this Territory during the last year.

We have recently installed an electric lighting plant, which has added greatly to the safety of the building and to the comfort of the patients.

The institution is being gradually improved; and the tax-payers of this Territory may in reason claim that their unfortunate insane are comfortably housed, fed, nursed, and clothed.

The institution has connected with it one hundred and sixty acres of land, all of which is in a high state of cultivation, brought about by a system of irrigation. Hence we have ample work for the patients, who are able to perform labor upon the farm.

We have no Territorial charity organization; but several of the towns and cities in the Territory have local organizations, and such associations are meeting with favor by our people.

ARKANSAS.

BY GEORGE THORNBURGH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The State conducts a school for the blind and deaf-mutes, an asylum for the insane, a home for ex-Confederate soldiers, and a penitentiary, all located at Little Rock, the State capital. These institutions are carefully looked after by proper boards and committees.

The insane asylum has a capacity of over 600. There are now

in it about 500. The proportion of males is smaller than of females. The Deaf-mute Institute contains 200 pupils, and has room for 50 more. They teach several useful trades here. They do a good part of the State printing. The School for the Blind enrols about 150. The capacity is 250. In all these institutions the colored people are provided for in similar manner to the whites, though they are separated.

The penitentiary contains 277 whites and 624 blacks and 2 Indians. The majority of the convicts work on farms, tilling the ground, clearing off land, etc.

The incoming legislature will probably enact a law for the establishment of a reformatory school for youthful offenders. We have nothing of the kind in the State. We have some good hospitals under city and church control. The Children's Home Society is at work in the State with good results. The organization is independent of any other society, having no connection outside the State.

CALIFORNIA.

BY MRS. SARAH B. COOPER, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

At the last session of our State legislature, held in the spring of 1895, a strong effort was made to pass a bill providing for a State Board of Charities and Correction; but the effort failed, as it has done several times before. During the same session an act passed by the legislature of March, 1883, providing State aid of ten dollars per month for each aged person in indigent circumstances supported in homes for such was repealed; and a number of the homes for the aged are badly crippled because of it. Reports from insane asylums show nothing special of interest. A slight increase of inmates is noticed, but not out of proportion to increase in general population.

In charity organization effort there is a steady gain in the estimation of the public at large, a strong feeling that it is indispensable to benevolent work, and continual organizing of new associated charities in smaller towns.

The California Home for the Care and Training of Feeble-minded Children reports a large increase in the number of charges. Large and commodious cottages are building to meet the demand, most of the work on these cottages being done by inmates of the home. Our State can boast of efficient work for these helpless ones.

Locally, the greatest strides have been made along the lines of educational work, beginning with the kindergartens, which gain in popular esteem every day, and continuing on up through kitchen gardens, clubs for the young people, where they are given manual training of all sorts, good government clubs for young men and women, mothers' clubs, and settlement work. The Lick School for Manual Training is at last completed. $540,000 was left by Mr. Lick for the purpose of establishing this school. $90,000 was expended upon the building, and the remainder invested to support the school. There are 400 scholars now enjoying its benefits. The Cogswell Polytechnic School, with a capacity about the same as the Lick School, reopened this year after two years' litigation.

COLORADO.

BY JOHN H. GABRIEL, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

During the past year there have been encouraging and discouraging features in the work of charities and correction in this State, the former due to progress inevitable in this work, the latter to the unsettled condition of the institutions and the vicissitudes of a new State.

The population of the various State institutions has generally increased, but by a small percentage, except in our insane asylum, which has been enlarged by an additional building accommodating more than sixty patients.

In October, 1895, the Industrial Home and School for Girls was opened under the auspices of the Board of Control of that institution, in a building leased for that purpose in the city of Denver. Before that time all incorrigible girls and petty offenders had been cared for by the House of the Good Shepherd, in the same city, under contract with the State, payment being made by the counties at the rate of $1.75 per week for those under thirteen years of age and $3.50 per week for girls over that age. A number of the counties refused to pay for the support of their girls because the institution was sectarian, but continued to commit the girls to the same institution. No appropriation having been made by our legislature for this purpose, this institution is also supported by moneys received from the counties at the same fixed rate.

The Home for Dependent Children, for which an appropriation of $5,000 per annum was made by our last legislature, was opened for the reception of children in February of this year in a building admirably adapted for the purpose which the board has rented for a nominal sum in the city of Denver. The institution is new, and perhaps we have made a mistake in not securing the services as superintendent of one thoroughly experienced in this work. The home is now caring for twenty-two children, but has not as yet attempted to secure homes for any of them.

Our other State institutions, excepting the School for the Deaf and Blind, have, unfortunately, been once more completely engulfed in the pool of partisan politics, notwithstanding the strong influence of the presence and words of the members of the National Prison Congress which met with us in September of last year. The very proficient superintendent of the Industrial School for Boys was removed to make a place for another.

This same power was permitted to enter the State Board of Charities and Corrections. The majority of its members, heretofore strongly pleading for non-partisan management of our State institutions, yielded to the influence of the chief executive to give the position of secretary of the board to one who uses his time in furthering a political cause.

On account of the stringent financial condition of the majority of the people of this State, little has been done toward a betterment of the condition of the unfortunate classes. The Associated Charities of the city of Denver has been doing a magnificent work, its increased efficiency being largely due to the secretary of the Charity Organization Society, who has, wherever possible, made work the exclusive test of relief.

Our people were never more willing, as shown by the recent Cripple Creek fire, where several thousand people were left homeless in an hour, all their possessions being consumed by fire. A subscription of $20,000 was immediately made, and all wants were supplied within two days.

CONNECTICUT.

BY J. J. MCCOOK, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The 1895 session of the General Assembly established a reformatory, and the directors have decided to begin with males between sixteen and thirty. They have bought a site within three miles of the centre of Hartford, and work upon the buildings will soon be begun. The institution is to be of the type made familiar by Elmira and Concord. The act also provides for reformatory treatment of tramps and common drunkards at any age above sixteen. It further provides for a separate department for women, which cannot be begun under the present small appropriation.

A striking provision of the act is that, after sufficient accommodations have been provided, no person under thirty years of age whom the directors are willing to accept shall be committed to jail, unless temporarily.

For the first time use has been made of the statute concerning incorrigibles.

The age of protection has been raised to sixteen years.

The constitutional requirement of good moral character in the person to be admitted to the suffrage has been construed so as to exclude persons convicted of any offence three or more times during their minority, or of any felony within twelve months before reaching majority, or who at reaching majority are actually in jail or prison for any felony.

Corrupt practice acts have been passed, relating respectively to ordinary elections and to the conduct of legislators and executive officers. Though defective, they are better than nothing

The Defective and Dependent.

Children under two may be admitted to county homes. When children have been supported three years in any such home, the parent loses his right to their services or earnings after eighteen.

Selectmen (overseers of the poor) are prohibited aiding, countenancing, or conniving at the marriage of any pauper, when the woman is under forty-five. The occasion of this and its scope will be obvious. Also a State prison penalty of three years is attached

to the offence of carnally knowing any pauper female under forty-five.

The whole legal status of the insane is reconsidered and settled in a long act. The judge of probate has jurisdiction. Sworn certificates from at least two reputable physicians are required except for temporary committal of the obviously and violently insane. Appeal by aggrieved persons, or their friends, from orders of commitment, is allowed, with use of habeas corpus. Patients may be self-committed, but shall be released within three days after making written request. All patients are allowed free sealed correspondence with outside parties. And all asylums, whether private or public, must make statistical returns to the State Board of Charities.

There is an increase in our registered insane, but it is questioned by competent authorities whether this imports actual increase of insanity.

An Industrial Home for the Blind has been erected in Hartford, and an appropriation of $15,000 toward its support made.

Prevention.

As preventive measures, under the title of defective and dependent, may be mentioned the following: —

Cases of inflamed, swollen, or red eyes developing within two weeks of birth are to be reported inside of six hours to the local board of health.

An act was passed which prohibits, under penalty of three years' imprisonment, the intermarriage, where the woman is under forty-five, of a man and woman either of whom is epileptic, imbecile, or feeble-minded, or the cohabitation of a man with any female under forty-five (not being his lawful wife) who is thus afflicted.

Less commendable than the above are the two following: —

An act prohibiting the manufacture in any prison of any article which may come in contact with the lips or mouth. This was passed in the interest of the public health. It is to be hoped that it will not serve as an entrenched outpost from which attacks may be directed upon the whole system of untrammelled prison labor.

An act prohibiting the establishment of private asylums, save under express legislative authority, within the limits of any town, without the consent of said town. Under this a much-needed pro-

vision for incurable children has been driven in succession from three towns, in one of which a site had been bought and paid for previous to the passage of the act. And it is to be doubted whether any town will now be found to give consent.

Vagabondage and Drink.

The police records of Hartford show fewer station lodgers in a whole winter month than formerly in a single night. This has come about by the simple process of refusing indiscriminate free lodging. There has not been apparently a resulting increase in the number entertained in free charitable or cheap private caravansaries. The State is becoming unpopular among gentlemen of the road.

This is, of course, not recorded as a remedy,— it certainly is not that,— but only as a phenomenon.

Out of a large mass of legislation relating to drink, the most important is : —

1. Permission to the magistrate, under certain circumstances, to revoke the licenses of violators of the liquor laws.

2. Secret ballot on the question of license or no license. The ballot was formerly open.

Better Juries.

In a general way going to the root of our whole criminal, as well as civil, court procedure is a statute which creates responsible commissions in each county for the more careful selection of jurors.

ADDITIONAL REPORT BY THE STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES.

I. Legislation.

The 1895 session of the Connecticut General Assembly effected considerable legislation in relation to the delinquent, dependent, and defective classes of the State, of which the following are important measures : —

1. *Delinquents.*— An act establishing a State reformatory for the care of male offenders between the ages of sixteen and thirty, per-

sons over thirty convicted for a third time of the same offence, tramps and habitual drunkards of any age above sixteen years, and all females over sixteen years convicted of offences punishable by imprisonment in a jail. For the first time use has been made of the statute of 1887 concerning incorrigibles, by which any person convicted, sentenced, and imprisoned in the State prison for the third time for any offence, for which the minimum punishment is two years' imprisonment in the State prison, shall be deemed to be an incorrigible, and shall be detained in the State prison for the further term of twenty-five years, unless pardoned or allowed to go at large on parole at the discretion of the board of prison directors.

2. *Dependants.*— An act was passed raising to eighteen years the age until which the board of management of each county temporary home for dependent and neglected children shall have full guardianship and control of each child committed to the home, and giving the board the power to give in adoption any such child who is an orphan or who has been in charge of the county home for more than one year.

Another act gives to the State Board of Charities power to recommend suitable family homes for the children in charge of the county temporary homes, and to visit the children when placed in such families, to ascertain whether they are properly treated. Under this act the State Board has appointed two of its members special agents, with compensation, to conduct this work, and valuable results are already appearing in a systematic oversight and record kept of children so placed.

Overseers of the poor or other town officers placing or retaining any child between the ages of two and sixteen years in an almshouse in violation of the statute, shall forfeit fifty dollars for each month of such violation.

Pauper and indigent insane are now both committed to the State hospital on the same basis,— two dollars per week being paid by the town or person committing, and the balance of the weekly cost of care and maintenance being paid by the State,— and they must be visited by said board at least once in every six months.

3. *Special Acts.*— The State Board of Charities, by law, now visits the State institutions once in three months instead of every month as before. The secretary of the Board is now chosen from outside its membership, and is required to devote his whole time to the work.

No maternity hospital can be maintained without a license from the board of health or proper officer of the town wherein it is situated.

II. Institutions and Statistics.

Connecticut, with a population of 800,000, maintains delinquents, dependants, and defectives, as follows: —

1. *Criminals.*— The State prison at Wethersfield has accommodations for 400 inmates, and is always pretty well filled. A number of improvements in buildings and equipment have been made during the year, chief among them being a new block of thirty-two cells for prisoners of the best behavior. This is a step toward a partial classification of prisoners. Ratio of State convicts to population, 1 in 2,000.

2. *Offenders and Vicious.*— Minor offenders, tramps, drunkards, and the like are confined in our county jails. The courts also send there a number of short-term prisoners, besides those bound over for trial before a higher court. Four of the jails are erecting large additions, but it is hoped that the completion of the new reformatory may relieve the pressure on their accommodations. The average number of inmates is 1,000, 1 to every 800 of the population.

3. *Juvenile Offenders.*— These are cared for in the State School for Boys at Meriden,— average number of inmates, 450,—and the Industrial School for Girls at Middletown,— average number, 250. Total number, 700; ratio, 1 to 1,143.

Total number of delinquents, 2,100; ratio, 1 to 381.

4. *Dependants.*— The poor are cared for in the town almshouses with a population of about 2,000, and in a number of Old People's Homes conducted by private charity and accommodating 330. Total, 2,330; ratio, 1 to 343.

The sick and injured poor are cared for in hospital rooms connected with the town almshouses, and in a number of city hospitals which receive appropriations from the State.

It is estimated that outdoor relief was furnished to 9,800 persons during the year 1894, at a cost of about $400,000.

Destitute children are provided for by eight county temporary homes, from which the children are placed out in suitable families. It is difficult to preserve the strictly temporary character of the

county homes, and their average number of inmates is about 600. Private asylums for the young, under the charge of religious bodies and charity societies, several of which receive appropriations from the towns in which they are situated, shelter about 950 children. Total, 1,550; ratio, 1 to 516.

Total number of dependants, 3,880; ratio, 1 to 206.

A large amount of private benevolence is bestowed upon dependants throughout the State, and it is encouraging to see that charity organization societies and their systematic methods are being employed in the larger cities.

5. *Defectives.*— The number of registered insane is increasing; but it is questioned whether this means an actual increase of insanity, at any rate not out of proportion to the increase in population. Pauper and indigent insane are cared for in the State hospital at Middletown, and number about 1,700. Besides these are about 350 chronic insane poor in the town almshouses. Three new private asylums for the insane have been opened within the past year, making a total of ten, which provide for about 300 patients. Total number of insane, 2,350; ratio, 1 to 340.

The Lakeville School for the Feeble-minded cares for about 130 State beneficiaries.

The deaf of the State receive instruction at the American School for the Deaf in Hartford, an institution private in form, where the State and the towns support their dependent deaf. The average number of pupils is 150. A small private school at Mystic, accommodating 20 children, has also received State aid. Total numbers of deaf, 170; ratio, 1 to 4,700.

All blind persons are entitled to receive an education at the expense of the State. The Connecticut Institute and Industrial Home for the Blind at Hartford accommodates about 40 pupils, and about 10 more are maintained at the Perkins Institute in Boston.

Total number of defectives, 2,700; ratio, 1 to 2,963.

The total cost to the State for the care of its delinquents, dependants, and defectives in 1895, was, $553,671.85, and to the towns for the same year $813,275.00, a grand total of $1,366,946.85, or an average of $10.70 per capita of the population.

DELAWARE.

BY MRS. EMALEA P. WARNER, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The legislature has not been in session this current season, hence there is no action to report from that body.

The State Hospital for the Insane near Wilmington treated 377 inmates last year, and expended about $30,000. Farming and park grounds, also hot-houses, have recently been added. The building is modern, and includes a large entertainment hall, good fire-escapes, and other features beneficial to the patients. Increased accommodations are imperative, however; and the board is contemplating additions to the hospital, the legislature having last year appropriated $35,000 for the purpose. Our three county almshouses have expended in the aggregate, for indoor and outdoor relief, about $40,000, and sheltered about 400 persons. Each almshouse has its farm upon which produce is raised. This being sold reduces the cost to tax-payers.

Our three county jails remain unimproved, and the old system of conducting them still prevails. The Delaware Union for Public Good, led by our chief justice and other influential citizens, has taken for its specific object this urgent work. Its vigorous efforts last year before the legislature, though meeting with defeat by one senatorial vote, has inspired such a favorable sentiment for the establishment of a State workhouse and reformatory that we look hopefully for success with the next legislature.

The private institutions of Wilmington are in admirable condition, and speak warm words of praise for the respective managements. Various improvements constantly give evidence of enterprise and intelligent thought. Of special new features the following may be noted: a cornet band at the Industrial School for Boys; a larger home for the Girls' Industrial School; a new elevator for the Aged Women's Home; St. Michael's Hospital for Babies removed to more commodious quarters; a new laundry for the Delaware Hospital; for the Door of Hope a new home; and for the Associated Charities a more spacious building, where its various auxiliaries can be conducted with more effective results. It has also provided temporary shelter for the S. P. C. C. children. St. Joseph's Mission for Colored Boys has extended its work with praiseworthy energy. A farm

has recently been procured, to which the boys from the Wilmington school are transferred, and where they are instructed in various trades as well as in agriculture.

Last year the Levy Court appropriated $2,500 to the Industrial School for Boys, and the legislature gave $1,000 to the Girls' Industrial School.

The total approximate amount expended by our private institutions in Wilmington last year was about $75,000, which in a city of less than 65,000 inhabitants is a favorable evidence of good feeling and well doing.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

BY HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND.

Senator McMillan, of Michigan, chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, in a report on the child-caring work submitted to the Senate on the twenty-first of this month, said, "The committee found that the work of caring for dependent children in the District of Columbia is at present in a state bordering on chaos, and that a well-ordered and effective system is necessary, not only for the benefit of the children, but also for the benefit of the taxpayers of the District, as well as of the government." The lack of effective organization of our local charitable work, both public and private, is illustrated by this observation, which might have been as justly made about any other department of it, with the exception now of our Associated Charities. The great need in our local charities has been such co-ordination and supervision as would bring an orderly system, efficient and economical, out of a congeries of governmental, semi-governmental, and private institutions and agencies working more or less independently. Every step in that direction is valuable; and, therefore, the best thing I have to report for the year is the reorganization of our Associated Charities into a real charity organization society out of the relief-giving agency which it had come to be. This was accomplished in the face of some opposition; and Mr. George S. Wilson, who had been in similar work in Cincinnati and Toledo, was appointed agent December 1, and with the new board of managers has captured the confidence of the community, including the approval of all the daily newspapers. Fortunately, the winter was so mild that the demands on the Associated

Charities for direct poor relief were comparatively small, so that by raising a small emergency fund, managed by a special committee, it was able to begin its new work and make its purpose generally understood without exciting much hostility from those who expected it to continue to keep on giving relief directly. By another winter its workings will be so well understood that there will be no such expectation. The worst thing I have to report is the failure of the Committee on Charities and Corrections of the Washington Board of Trade to press before Congress, at this session, the proposition adopted by the Board of Trade last April, providing for the abolition of the office of Superintendent of Charities, and the creating instead of a Board of Charities to supervise all the public charitable work in the District of Columbia, which would have done for the institution work what the reorganization of the Associated Charities promises to do for the relief work. The determination of the committee to postpone this matter until another session of Congress was brought about by considerations not affecting the merits of the proposition, and is very much to be regretted, especially as for the first time in years Congress seems to be particularly in the mood for considering such legislation. The House of Representatives, after prolonged and instructive debate, reorganized the charity section of the District of Columbia Appropriation Bill so as to cut off all appropriations for sectarian institutions, and to bring the expenditure of all appropriations for private institutions more directly under public control, incidentally strengthening the Board of Children's Guardians, our best governmental agency, by giving it buildings and grounds for the temporary care of its wards before they go to homes. The District of Columbia Appropriation Bill is now pending in the Senate, and private and sectarian institutions are endeavoring to upset what was done in the House. The matter will finally be settled in a conference committee.

Senator McMillan's report above referred to is devoted to child-caring work alone, and recommends, as a result of investigation, coordination of agencies in that branch, and especially the enlargement of the functions and facilities of the Board of Children's Guardians, which was founded by Amos G. Warner, the former Superintendent of Charities, who got the act creating it through Congress, and which has done admirable work in spite of many difficulties.

FLORIDA.

No report received.

GEORGIA.

BY MISS ALICE BOYKIN, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

At the last session of the legislature a bill providing a State reformatory was introduced, but was lost, although the majority was in favor of it. There will certainly be something more done for it at the next session. Public sentiment is turned in that direction.

We have no new State institutions, but the insane asylum at Milledgeville has been improved by the State. The other two State institutions, the School for Deaf and Dumb at Cave Spring and the School for the Blind at Macon, report about as last year. They all need more help.

Each county has its poorhouse and jail. The convicts of the State are leased,— a system very objectionable to many of our best citizens; yet no other solution of the problem has been found.

We have a number of private charitable institutions in the State, among them the Orphans' Home at Decatur, owned by the North Georgia Conference; another at Macon, owned by the South Georgia Conference; and a third in Atlanta, owned by the Baptist denomination. These are all kept up by voluntary contributions. The Hebrews have an orphans' home in Atlanta also, and there is an Atlanta Home for the Friendless. The Grady Hospital is one of the blessings to humanity in the same city, where also Carrie Steele has been doing a noble work for the colored race for a number of years, and has established an orphans' home for colored children. Our cities have faithfully cared for all the needy. The old soldiers and their widows are pensioned by the State.

ILLINOIS.

BY MISS JULIA C. LATHROP, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

As the biennial session of the legislature had not adjourned at the time of the last report to this Conference, it is proper to state the action taken after that report was made, and to sum up such results as are significant.

A bill for the indeterminate sentence of criminals, and the parole system, was passed. An appropriation of $125,000 was made for enlarging the reformatory at Pontiac, and for equipping and carrying on trade schools therein. A bill was passed increasing the compensation of industrial schools for boys to $10 per month, eliminating the former provision against State aid to such schools, and committing boys to their guardianship until twenty-one years of age; also a bill providing, when indigent and suffering soldiers, sailors, and marines, or their families, need assistance, that overseers of the poor shall furnish such sums as may be necessary, to be drawn upon by officers of the local posts of the G. A. R. for such relief; and overseers are prohibited from sending indigent soldiers, sailors, and marines, or their families, to any almshouse or orphan asylum, without the consent of the officers of the local posts. The law creating a civil service commission for the county of Cook is of great moment, since, if this law is carried out faithfully, it removes from political control the care of the insane, indigent sick, and paupers of Cook County.

Notwithstanding great efforts, no law was passed forbidding the retention of children in almshouses, or otherwise materially modifying our present anomalous laws regarding dependent children.

Three new State charitable institutions were established,— the Western Hospital for the Insane (reported last year), an asylum for the incurable insane, and a home for soldiers' mothers, wives, widows, or daughters. The insane hospital is located upon the Mississippi River, near Rock Island, and the asylum at Peoria, on the Illinois River. The plans for both institutions are prepared, and provide two-story buildings, with separate housing for nurses and attendants. It is believed they offer some unique features in economy and convenience of administration. The Soldiers' Widows' Home is at present small, and is now open, in Will County.

The care of delinquent, neglected, and dependent children seems lately to have taken a stronger hold upon public attention than any other charitable problem. Repeated conferences and discussions upon different phases of the subject have been held or are in prospect, and we may hope for some radical improvement in law and in practice. There is an evident tendency to favor a placing-out system, and toward a more strenuous effort for effective compulsory education as an indispensable preventive measure.

The most important fact in private charitable activity is the suc-

cess of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, under the direction of its new secretary, Dr. Philip W. Ayres. It is, in fact, a charity organization society. During the past winter its progress has been substantial, and Dr. Ayres's work gives every promise of permanency. In February, in addition to the central office, five district offices, with paid secretaries, had been established, the co-operation of the principal relief-giving societies and of Cook County's outdoor relief office and of seventy-five churches of all denominations had been obtained, and a force of over two hundred volunteer friendly visitors was already at work and meeting in regular conferences.

In the care of the insane, two items of alleviation are worth noticing: —

First. Although it is three years since the law was passed giving county judges an option between a jury trial and inquiry by a commission of physicians in insanity cases, it has been only within a few months that any commissions have been appointed in the county of Cook, where nearly half the insane cases of Illinois are tried. There is good reason to think that the present county judge will use commissions more and more, and we may hope for great improvement in the general management of Cook County insane cases.

Second. At the asylum at Kankakee the men's infirmary wards and acute violent cases are now in charge of women nurses, assisted by male orderlies. Like every other effort to treat insanity as a symptom of disease rather than of depravity, the result is good. While this practice is not entirely new in the care of the insane, it is new in Illinois; and the prospect that it will be followed in our other State hospitals is fair.

INDIANA.

BY ERNEST BICKNELL, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

No session of the legislature has been held since the last meeting of the Conference. However, some results of the enactments of the legislature which met in the winter of 1895 have been experienced during the past year for the first time.

The State Soldiers' Home, for which an appropriation was made by the last legislature, has been enough completed to permit the admission of inmates. Its population, May 1, 1896, was near 200. Veterans of the Civil War, their wives or widows, are eligible for admission.

Another act of the last legislature providing for reports of outdoor poor relief, to be made quarterly by township overseers of the poor to the Board of State Charities, did not go into effect until the autumn of 1895; and its results are only beginning to be seen. Full reports are required, and the law will in a short time have given the Board of State Charities such a record of outdoor relief as has seldom been secured in any State. The facts to be given include name, age, nationality, occupation, and disability of every person receiving assistance, except where the relief is for a family, in which case the report includes all these facts concerning the head of the family, the number of members, and the age of each. In each instance of relief, also, the kind of assistance given and its value in money are required to be reported.

An appropriation of $100,000 was made by the legislature of 1895 for the extension of the four State insane hospitals, and three have been or are now being enlarged from this appropriation. The increase in capacity resulting from the expenditure will be about 350, making the total hospital capacity of the State about 3,300. A sufficient number of applications for admission are now on file to fill up the additional capacity as fast as it is ready for occupancy.

The State School for Feeble-minded Youth was given an appropriation in 1895, with which it purchased 255 acres of land, giving a total ground area of 310 acres. Upon the farm, at a considerable distance from the main buildings, has been erected a plain farm-house, in which forty or forty-five of the larger and stronger boys of the school have been colonized. It is the purpose to continue the development of the school in this direction, the farm thus serving to provide healthful and attractive occupation for the stronger members of the institution, and a large proportion of the food supplies which otherwise would have to be purchased.

A great increase of the inmates of the county poor asylums has occurred in the past twelve months. From a total population of about 3,700 in 1894, a total of about 4,500 was reached in 1895. The increase in a single year was, therefore, almost twenty-two per cent.

The Board of State Charities in the autumn of 1895 began the publication of a quarterly periodical known as the *Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Correction.* This is serving a useful purpose in keeping the public informed of all matters of interest pertaining

to the public charitable and correctional institutions, and in enabling the board to communicate directly and regularly with the large number of persons in the State who are officially or otherwise interested in its purposes, plans, and work. An edition of about 3,000 copies is issued regularly, and copies find their way to every township and almost every post-office in the State.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

BY REV. ROBERT W. HILL, D.D., CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

As yet there is no legislation to report for this year, although at the time of writing this report many bills affecting the Indian Territory are pending in Congress. Of the proposed legislation the most important is that embraced in the bills intended to carry out the recommendations of the Dawes Commission. Most of these have in view the termination of the present system of tribal courts with their tribal prisons, and the extension of the jurisdiction of our United States courts, so that it may cover all cases arising in the Territory. This means practically the end of all tribal government, and the merging of the Indians with the rest of the population. This is desirable, but may not be accomplished this Congress. The care of the insane is still in the hands of the Indian governments, and has not improved. There is only one asylum in the Territory. The orphans receive more and better care than formerly, as two new orphanages have been lately built by the Indians.

There is no such thing as charity organization. Whatever is done for the destitute whites is done by private individuals or fraternal societies. There is no hospital in the Territory, nor any schools for the feeble-minded, deaf or dumb, and practically none for the blind, although there is a so-called blind asylum. It has no teachers, and is only an almshouse where the blind are received.

The prisons are schools of vice, where young and old, guilty and innocent, are herded together, with no attempt at separation. Much is needed in the way of reform; but, as long as the Territory retains its present anomalous government, we may not look for a change for the better.

IOWA.

BY MRS. NETTIE F. HOWARD, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Twenty-sixth General Assembly adjourned April, 1896.

Bills passed.— An act requiring juvenile prisoners to be kept separate from older offenders. An act against obscene matter written or printed, the penalty being one year instead of thirty days, and a fine of $1,000 instead of $100. An anti-cigarette bill. The age of protection was raised from thirteen to fifteen years. An act to relieve the Orphans' Home at Andrew, Ia., from a debt of long standing.

Bills that failed of Passage.— Providing a system of parole for crime punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary. An act to regulate the time when children must leave the streets in the evening and to prevent children of fifteen years and under being employed in manufacturing establishments. To provide for care and control of neglected children between the ages of two and fourteen years, and power to rescue them from homes of vice and place them in the State Orphans' Home, trustees of said home becoming guardians, with power to indenture or adopt in families. The bill further provides an agent to find suitable homes for children from the State Orphanage.

In 1895 the State Orphans' Home introduced industrial training. December, 1896, the State of Iowa celebrates its first half-century. It has now over 2,057,000 population. Thirteen State institutions care for her defective, dependent, insane, and criminal population, which numbers about 6,000 persons. A new hospital for the insane is in process of erection. This makes the fourth institution of this kind in Iowa. Besides, a large number of counties take especial care of these unfortunates.

A bill was before the legislature to provide a hospital for epileptics, of which there are 4,000 in the State. Half of these are cared for in the county poorhouses, in the insane asylums, and at the Glenwood Home for Feeble-minded Children, leaving 2,000 unprovided for. Another bill to admit adult feeble-minded in the Glenwood institution. In addition, we are hoping for a reformatory and a hospital for inebriates, which will then allow State supervision of all who need treatment.

Private charities are on the increase. Benedict Home for Women is included in this category, but receives State aid, $9,200 being appropriated this year. Benedict Retreat at Decorah is another rescue for women, and one opened in Dubuque this spring is known as the Industrial Home for Women. As Iowa has no great cities, and police matrons are allowed in places of 25,000 population, a limited number are employed.

Charity organization societies operate in Davenport, Des Moines, Burlington, and Cedar Rapids. Private institutions for the care of children is a valued addition to our charitable efforts, a list of which we send with this report. This includes the Iowa Home Society, whose nursery has been moved from Davenport to Des Moines, and which has since its organization in 1888 placed 1,127 children. For the year ending in May, 1896, homes have been found for about 200 children.

Hospital work is developing well in our State. Eight of the hospitals from which reports have come maintain training schools for nurses.

Towns of 5,000 population and under have made organized efforts to help the poor this winter. The best-equipped and probably the oldest benevolent society in the State is the Ladies' Industrial Relief Society of Davenport, dating its operations from 1849. It owns a valuable property, and promotes especially industrial relief, having a laundry, a day nursery, sewing-school for girls, a woman's club, etc.

The following is a list of the private institutions for children in Iowa, with the year when each was organized, as near as known: —

Orphans' Home for Destitute Children	Andrew,	1864
St. Mary's Orphans' Home	Dubuque,	1878
Home for the Friendless	Dubuque.	
Christian Home	Council Bluffs,	1883
Home for the Friendless	Cedar Rapids,	1884
Des Moines Home for Friendless Children	Des Moines,	1887
Iowa Children Home Society	Des Moines,	1888
Children's Home	Near Spirit Lake, Dickinson County,	1890
Lutheran Home for Children	Muscatine,	1894
Swedish Orphans' Home	Stanton.	
Boys' and Girls' Home	Sioux City,	1894
St. Vincent's Home	Davenport,	1895

The Odd Fellows are contemplating a home for orphans.

KANSAS.

BY GEORGE A. CLARK, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

No legislation has been had since the last report. The State Industrial Reformatory for first felons has been put in operation, and has 98 inmates, of the average age of twenty-one years. The officials report encouraging work during the nine months since the institution was opened, and also that the citizens of Hutchinson, where the reformatory is located, are giving hearty support and co-operation in all measures for the good of the institution.

Official cognizance is had of the need of additional provisions for the insane, and for the shelter and care of feeble-minded women of child-bearing age. It is proposed that the latter class be cared for in a custodial annex to the Home for Feeble-minded Children.

New buildings at the Soldiers' Orphans Home, costing $91,000, are approaching completion, and will be opened for the reception of all children, under a comprehensive policy of State care, disposition, and supervision.

The organization of a State Conference of Charities and Correction is contemplated as an aid to correct methods. The age of protection in Kansas has been established at eighteen years. Prison statistics are improving in encouragement, but there is need of action to secure a more uniform administration of justice.

In the care of failing veterans of the Union Army, Kansas is faithful to her record for loyalty. None of these or their wives and children are permitted to cross the threshold of the county poor-house.

A strong effort is being made to return to the policy of legalizing the rum traffic, but there is no indication that public sentiment will favor it.

POPULATION AND COST OF STATE ESTABLISHMENTS.

Institution.	*Daily Average Number.*	*Total Cost of Current Support.*
Topeka Insane Asylum	765	$157.88
Osawatomie Insane Asylum	768	153.27
Institution for the Blind	75	230.66
School for the Deaf	220	209.91
Asylum for Idiotic and Imbecile Youth	109	168.24
State Reform School	204	165.00
Girls' Industrial School	96	166.60
Soldiers' Orphan Home	132	144.17

KENTUCKY.

BY W. T. ROLPH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The legislature of the past winter was favorable to the support of our hospitals and insane asylums, and our governor has made strong recommendations for further improvement in our reformatory institutions. An act providing for the protection of vagrant and destitute children, actually or apparently under the age of sixteen years, was passed, providing a heavy penalty for exposure, cruelty, neglect, or desertion of children, and allowing the care and disposing of children. There has also been opened in Louisville and in other cities of the State branches of the Children's Home Society.

The State has no Board of Charities and Correction.

Comparing statistics of the insane for the years 1894–95, there does not seem to be much difference. Two new buildings were erected (in addition to the large ones already there) at Lakeland Asylum during 1895,— one for women, which accommodates 150 patients, and one for males which will accommodate 225. The colored patients in all of our institutions and correctional establishments are kept in separate buildings from the whites.

The commitments to the Industrial School of Reform in Louisville show a slight decrease this year over the previous. There has recently been added to this institution a large new building for colored girls. The building is complete in all of its appointments,— a fine school-room, work-room, play-rooms, etc. Up to this time there had been no school of reform for colored girls, and this institution will undoubtedly prove of great benefit.

Charity organization methods continue to make progress in Kentucky. During the past year a charity organization society has been organized at Lexington. The Louisville Charity Organization and its work have steadily grown in the confidence of the community, and no trouble has been had in finding the means to support it in an efficient and satisfactory manner.

The statistics of the Charity Organization of Louisville from October 1 (date of last report) to March, 1896, show 1,206 applicants, of whom 873 were relieved, and 334 were dismissed as unworthy and not requiring relief. There were paid out considerable sums of money for relief and emergency work, this latter being incident to the dull times.

The Louisville Wayfarers' Lodge has done efficient service during the period stated above, and, while they have fewer professional tramps (they now seemingly avoid Louisville), they have taken care of a class of day laborers, mechanics, and even skilful mechanics, by providing them with work, and thereby preserving their self-respect and tiding them and their families over the winter, this class being forced out of employment simply from stress of the times.

Within the last year or two there has been a decided awakening in Kentucky as to the work that is encompassed by the National Charities and Correction, and the leaven is working in such a way as will put Kentucky fully up to the front with her sister States on this line. The improvement in our correctional, insane, and similar institutions the last few years is almost phenomenal.

LOUISIANA.

BY MICHEL HEYMANN, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Our legislature meets only biennially: there was no session this year. We shall try again at the next session (May, 1896) to have our bill passed for the creation of a State Board of Charities and Corrections with better hope of success, having enlisted the good will of some of our best citizens.

Some bills for the protection of children were passed at the last session of the legislature, and we hope that more will be passed next May.

Public sentiment begins to be aroused here in favor of the improved mode in dealing with the pauper and criminal class. I still believe that, if we could get the Conference of Charities and Correction to meet in New Orleans, it would help us considerably in our work.

Rev. Beverly E. Warner, rector of Trinity Church, has done some excellent work. The following is his report: —

"The work undertaken by the Trinity Parish of New Orleans has for its object *the helping of the poor to help themselves.* There is an industrial yard, where men may work, sawing and piling wood, for which they receive only a lodging and meal ticket,— no money. The effort is for paupers, to get them over temporary difficulties, and does not attempt to provide permanent employment in the yard.

A labor bureau, on a small scale, has grown up out of this enterprise; and scores of men have secured temporary jobs, while many have been fortunate enough to make their way through the yard into permanent positions. In connection with the yard, a lodging-house has been established, with a reading and smoking room attached. The average attendance is 600 per month. Next year cheap and nourishing food will be furnished to lodgers.

"A crèche and house after the fashion of what is known as the *college settlement* plan has been in active operation during the winter. A lady who has devoted her life to this work resides with an assistant and a servant in this house, and has already become an influence for the uplifting of the neighborhood.

"A girls' club, intended to brighten the dull times of young girls who work in the adjacent mills, has been created. A boys' club is in contemplation.

"Although the work is carried on under the auspices of Trinity Church, it is in no sense sectarian, and is supported by all sorts of people. Not the least generous contributors are the Hebrews of New Orleans, who are known for their unsectarian zeal in good work."

The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, through its able president, Rev. E. A. Clay, continues its good work.

I am sorry to say that the progress made in our State is not what I expected. I attribute this state of affairs somewhat to my absence from the Conference in New Haven; for, had I been there, my chances for having the meeting here instead of at Grand Rapids would have been good, and the results of this gathering would have been immense. It will be remembered the fight in Nashville was between New Haven, Grand Rapids, and New Orleans, and many of my friends promised to help me to get the Conference to come to New Orleans instead of going to Michigan; and that would have been right, because we need it more down here. We will talk about this if I get a chance to go this year to Grand Rapids.

I learned much in the International Prison Congress held in Paris last summer; and I intend to have some of the theories put in practice, if my Louisiana friends will help me.

MAINE.

BY MRS. L. M. N. STEVENS, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There has been no session of the legislature this year. No special change has taken place in the correctional institutions of the State. Progress is being made toward carrying out the provision made by the last legislature to provide for the care of part of the insane population in a hospital to be erected at Bangor, while the hospital at Augusta will be carried on as heretofore.

There has not been any apparent increase of the insane population of the State during the last year. The insane hospital at Augusta was, however, overcrowded then and is now, so that it would not be proper to judge as to the increase or otherwise by this alone. The last census, in fact, showed a decrease in the number of insane over the previous one; and Superintendent Sanborn is of the opinion that this is correct.

The number in our State prison has decreased from 161 in 1895 to 156 in the present year.

Our many charitable organizations and institutions have progressed well during the year. Good-will Farm for Boys has two new cottages, and in the near future will erect a cottage for the care of girls.

Steps have been taken toward a new building for the Girls' Industrial School. We have two homes already which are crowded, and already we have the necessary funds for the third building. This school receives those girls who are in danger of falling into bad habits, as well as those who have already taken up such habits. A home for girls has also been established in Belfast during the year, and a temporary home for boys has been opened in Deering.

The results of child-saving efforts in Maine are very encouraging, especially in the work of the department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union,— of securing homes for homeless children,— which, without any institution, secures excellent homes by adoption for many dependent children.

The hospitals for the sick and infirm are well fostered and carried on in approved ways. Special mention should be made of a comparatively new institution in Deering called the Invalids' Home, where girls or women not sick enough to enter a hospital are kindly cared for.

The associated charities of the various cities continue to do commendable work.

An effort will be made to secure from the next legislature favorable action concerning the establishment of a reformatory prison for women. While there are but five women in the State prison, there are a large number in the jails who should be removed, and given different influences and care from that afforded by the jail. The principle proclaimed by Elizabeth Frye eighty years ago, that women only should be employed in the superintendence of women prisoners, seems to be impressing itself upon the minds of many in Maine who are interested in prison reform.

MARYLAND.

BY MISS KATE M. MCLANE, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

At the biennial session of Maryland's legislature this winter there was little legislation affecting charitable or correctional interests. A loan of $500,000 was authorized toward the erection of new penitentiary buildings; and $75,000 was appropriated for buildings at the State Insane Asylum, No. 2, which, on the cottage plan, is to be situated on a large farm, Springfield, in Carroll County.

The State Institution for Feeble-minded Children received an extra $5,000 to complete a new ward. This institution proposes to add later a building for epileptic children, and thus care for some unfortunates now improperly housed at almshouses.

In Baltimore the political upheaval of last autumn, among other results, brought about non-political appointments to unpaid city boards, notably the jail board and the trustees of the poor, who control the City Almshouse (Bay View Asylum) and supervise the city patients at eight subsidized hospitals. The jail board has already isolated its juvenile from its adult prisoners, putting the former under care of a matron. It is also replacing inadequate and unhygienic tubs with a plentiful supply of needle baths.

The Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, following up the action of last year, has extended its work, and now receives and places in appropriate homes children of all ages, carefully supervising their care and treatment.

The managers of the Industrial Home for Colored Girls succeeded

in having a bill passed giving them control of all girls committed to their custody by any justice of the peace until they are twenty-one years of age instead of eighteen, as heretofore.

A commendable new charitable organization is the Instructive Visiting Nurse Association, with one trained nurse at work in South Baltimore, and the hope of reporting an increased staff next year.

An encouraging sign of the growth of intelligent sympathy rather than of sentimental selfishness is found in the large reduction in money and supplies sent to the police stations this season for distribution among the poor. From January 1 to date, only $1,383 was acknowledged by the police authorities.

But probably the most significant development in Maryland since the last Conference is the appointment by the governor of the State, and by the mayor of Baltimore, of women on boards of certain public institutions, such as the Baltimore Almshouse Board, the Female House of Refuge and the Boys' House of Refuge. These appointments were cautiously made in response to a steadily growing public conviction that women should be represented on the governing bodies of charitable and correctional institutions, public or private, which care for women and children. It is hoped that the heartily commended innovation of Governor Lowndes and Mayor Hooper will be imitated by subscribers to private institutions for women and children, where women are still, in most cases, merely members of auxiliary boards, with no responsibility, no power of initiative, and consequently with little intelligent or helpful interest.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BY F. B. SANBORN, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Ours is one of the few States that still hold annual sessions, and therefore we have great facilities for new acts and for changes in our charitable system. These were used in 1895 very freely, but much more sparingly this year. A special asylum for the criminal and convict insane was established by law in 1895 in connection with the workhouse and almshouse at Bridgewater, known by the name of "State Farm." Such an asylum, without due authorization of law, had existed there for nine years. Its inmates number about 240.

A hospital for epileptics was also authorized at Monson, on the farm lately occupied by the State Primary School, which was closed last July. The old buildings have been removed, and plans for new buildings accepted. It will be a year or two yet before any considerable number of epileptics can occupy them. They must therefore continue in the insane asylums and (if children) in the "Hospital Cottages" at Baldwinsville, an establishment mainly given up to young epileptics. Perhaps the unfinished Asylum for Chronic Insane at Medfield, in part occupied this spring, after six years of plans and building, will receive some insane epileptics, for whom a portion of its room for 1,000 patients was originally designed. Both the Monson Hospital and the Medfield Asylum have superintendents,— Dr. Copp, formerly of the Taunton Insane Hospital, at the former, and Dr. French, lately of the New Hampshire Asylum, at Medfield.

A hospital for tuberculous patients (practically a charity hospital) was also authorized by the State legislature last year, and its site is fixed at Rutland in Worcester County.

A long legislative hearing in 1895 resulted in giving back to the trustees of the Lyman (reform) School the powers of placing-out and visiting its boys which they had before the Board of Lunacy and Charity assumed exclusive powers. The Primary School having been abolished, its trustees (the same as those of the Lyman and Industrial Schools) opened a small home for boys in the town of Berlin; and the State Board opened two small homes at Arlington and Ludlow, for such children as formerly went to Monson. There are thus three small establishments, containing less than 100 children, in lieu of one big establishment at Monson. They are experimental in character, and their legal status is in controversy.

Controversy also exists concerning the proper management of the city charities and prisons of Boston, which (population 500,000) now supports at its own cost (practically) more than 2,000 prisoners, nearly 1,300 insane poor, and 1,500 sane poor, besides 1,200 children; that is, some 6,000 persons by average, besides the outdoor poor relieved by the Boston overseers of the poor, at a yearly cost of $120,000. The additional yearly cost of the fully supported prisoners, paupers, insane persons, and children, is now about $700,000, including cost of administration,— nearly as much as the State pays for charitable and reformatory work. This large outlay by Boston

naturally allows much patronage, sometimes political,— a danger now increased by the concentration of administrative power in one man.

Legislation in 1895 placed this power (in Boston) in the hands of a single commissioner, appointed by the mayor. As the mayoralty is always a political office, this was putting the city charities, except those directed by the overseers, within easy reach of partisan politics. The first result was (coupled with other causes for a change) to pass the mayoralty from one political party to the other at the December election. For this and other reasons an effort was made this year to put the care of the children, the insane, and the paupers, under three separate boards of trustees, similar to those of the State establishments, but leaving the prisoners under the single commissioner. By a vote chiefly political this laudable effort was defeated, and the Boston charities are left at the mercy of politics. Yet, for one reason and another, the establishments are improving in their condition, so far as overcrowding will allow; and, when the rational system of managing them is finally voted (perhaps next year), they may be better off than now.

Coming to the form of classification adopted by the Corresponding Secretary of Pennsylvania, with population more than double that of Massachusetts (2,500,000), we find these statistics: —

A. Group of Delinquents.

Class 1.— *Criminals* are confined in three State prisons, at Charlestown (old Auburn system), with 774 convicts, April 1, 1896; at the Concord Reformatory for men, with 969 convicts; and the Sherborn Reformatory for women, with 353 convicts (20 of whom are indentured in families), making 2,106 in all. In twenty-one county prisons, of which sixteen are penitentiaries (houses of correction), are 2,330 convicts, and in the jails about 700, most of whom are waiting trial. Excluding those more properly termed "vicious," there would be 1,500 criminals, who, added to those in State prisons, make 3,600 of Class 1.

Class 2.— The *Vicious* (drunkards, prostitutes, tramps, etc.) are mostly in two great workhouses, the House of Industry, Boston, and the old State Workhouse at Bridgewater, containing respectively, April 1, 1,388 and 814 prisoners. There are also about 1,000 of this class in the jails and houses of correction, under com-

mitment for penalty, giving an aggregate of 3,202. Including those waiting trial, there were in all, April 1, 7,330 prisoners,— 6,349 men and 981 women. This is the largest number ever in prison at this season, being one in every 341 of the population. A year ago there were only 6,895, and ten years ago only 5,201.

Class 3.— *Insubordinates.* We have two State reform schools, with 385 pupils; and six county truant or "parental" schools, with nearly 500 pupils; in all, say 850 insubordinates, to whom may be added 150 of this class committed to the custody of the central Board,— an aggregate of 1,000.

B. Group of Destitutes.

Class 1.— *The Aged and Infirm (Sane) Poor* are partly in 217 city and town almshouses, partly in the State Almshouse at Tewksbury and its adjunct at Bridgewater, and partly in private families at public cost, the relative numbers being 4,000 in the local almshouses April 1, 700 in the State almshouses, and 600 in families,— a total of 5,300.

Class 2.— *Destitute Children.* These have mostly been withdrawn from poorhouses, which now contain some 300; while special homes, like that in Boston, with 440 inmates, contain more than 600; and nearly or quite 2,000 are either boarded in families for a price or for the labor they can render. These are all under public supervision; but nearly as many more are cared for by private charities (orphans' homes, children's aid societies, etc.). With their mothers in prison (up to the age of two years) there may be 70. This class cannot be estimated at less than 5,000 at any one time.

Classes 3 and 4.— *The Sick and Injured Poor* are in State and city hospitals, generally at public expense. They will number at one time less than 1,500 probably, but in course of a year more than 10,000. Massachusetts has a special system for this class at State expense, which has been in force more than thirty years, and provides for thousands.

Among the sick poor are reckoned the tender infants, motherless or deserted, whom the State has also specially cared for, for nearly thirty years (since the chartering of the Massachusetts Infant Asylum in 1867). They have much increased of late, and now amount, together with those in chartered asylums or public establishments

under State supervision, such as the Massachusetts and St. Mary's Asylums, the Boston Children's Home (on Marcella Street), etc., to nearly 500. More than half these infants are not ill at all, but they require almost as much care as older patients do in illness. The success of the State authorities in preserving life in a class which seldom lived to be two years old is one of the best results of our whole policy.

C. Group of Defectives.

Class 1.—*The Insane.* Next to prisoners, and soon likely to surpass even those in number, this is the largest special class constantly under public care in Massachusetts. As compared with the registered prisoners April 1 (7,330), the insane at the same date in public and private hospitals and asylums (twenty-two in all), together with 132 boarding in families, under State supervision, numbered 6,030; and in other families, in almshouses and almshouse asylums, and here and there in prisons, there were at the same date not less than 970, making an aggregate of 7,000. The increase in the first-named total (6,030) since the same date in 1895 is 225, and in the whole aggregate 250, so that a year hence it may be that the insane will outnumber the prisoners. In course of a year many more *different persons* become prisoners than are entered as insane, the latter being perhaps 8,500; while there are more than 20,000 prisoners in a year, after allowing for duplications. Of course, the sane poor receiving partial support (outdoor relief) are more than both these numbers together, in course of twelve months, — say 40,000 different persons, including children. But the constant average of those partially supported cannot well exceed 9,000, when reduced to the equivalent of full support,— say two dollars a week. And, of those, not less than 2,000 are either ill, or children, or mentally affected, so that the average of persons thus aided (sane adults) would be less than 7,000, the present number of the insane. The population of the State being now 2,500,000, this gives us 1 insane person in 355. It is probably above this,— say 1 in 330,— and is steadily increasing.

Class 2.— *Idiotic and Feeble-minded Persons.* For these the State furnishes a combination of school and asylum in new buildings at Waltham, about ten miles west of Boston, now containing 415 inmates. At the Hospital Cottages in Baldwinsville are something

more than 100 epileptic, deformed, crippled, or mentally defective children, who, added to this class (when they belong there), would bring the total to 500. In the almshouses of the cities and towns and those of the State are perhaps 600 more, making an aggregate of 1,100. This number also increases, but not so fast as that of the insane.

Class 3.— *The Blind.* A considerable number of this class of defectives are maintained in almshouses and among the outdoor poor. There are also about 200 in the admirable kindergarten and school for the blind conducted in Boston by Mr. Michael Anagnos, the son-in-law and successor of Dr. S. G. Howe. Most of the graduates of this school are self-supporting; and it is not reckoned as a charity, but a place of popular education. Probably the blind who are publicly supported do not exceed 150.

Class 4.— *The Deaf.* The same remark applies to the deaf, of whom a comparatively small number are now to be called "deaf-mutes," because more than 230 of the deaf children of the State are now taught to speak and read the lips. The three or four establishments in which they are — at Boston (a day school), at Northampton (the Clarke Institution), at Beverly (a small asylum), and at Hartford, Ct.,— contain in all some 325 Massachusetts pupils, for whom the State pays from $100 to $200 a year for the education and support of each. It offends the managers of these superior educational establishments to have them classed as charities, in the same sense that almshouses and hospitals are.

MICHIGAN.

BY DR. JAMES A. POST, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There having been no session of the State legislature since the last report, there are, of course, no new matters of legislation.

The two new State institutions mentioned in report for 1895 — namely, the Home for the Feeble-minded, at Lapeer, and the Upper Peninsula Hospital for the Insane, at Newberry — are both progressing favorably.

The superintendent of the former writes (Feb. 28, 1896) "that the capacity for the older class of boys is already reached. There are at present 160 inmates of all ages,— from six to sixty years,— and all

grades of mentality represented. The ordinary school methods are used, with physical training and manual labor, such as housekeeping, laundry work, farming, gardening, sewing, and carpenter work." It will be necessary to enlarge the capacity in the near future.

The hospital (Newberry) has been caring for patients since Nov. 1, 1895. It is constructed on the "cottage plan," each cottage having a capacity of 50 patients. Three cottages are already filled. An infirmary and a disturbed cottage, with capacity of 50 each, are now under construction; and, when finished, 250 patients can be cared for. There is a plunge-bath and shower-bath system. The hospital idea for the insane is being carried out, and individualism as far as possible, also different forms of electrical treatment.

The working of the new "parole law" has been, so far, generally satisfactory. Ten convicts have been paroled from Jackson prison, nine of whom are doing well. Fourteen have been paroled from the Ionia prison, and four or five from the Marquette prison. Only one has been returned at this date (March 18, 1896), and that on account of drunkenness.

The Marquette prison has 210 inmates, with only 10 to 15 employed at productive labor. The board is considering propositions to contract the services of a number of convicts from clothing and iron-ware manufacturers.

The Jackson prison has 811 inmates, 625 of whom are employed on contract labor, and 50 on State account. A number of men are employed about the prison at unproductive labor. All the available men are employed, and work could be furnished for 50 or 75 more.

The Ionia prison has 574 inmates,—74 employed on knitting contract, 197 making furniture, and 110 caning chairs. Nearly all who are able to work are employed at productive labor.

The State Board of Corrections and Charities has been making an effort to compel prisoners sentenced to county jails to perform manual labor during their term of imprisonment. There have been several provisions covering this ground upon the statutes of the State for many years; but they have existed as "dead letters," so to speak, no use having been made of them. The consequence has been that for years in this State, to a large class of offenders (many of them tramps, vagrants, and drunks), the county jail has been looked upon as a public institution (in the nature of a hotel), where they could secure board and lodging without cost to themselves;

where, nominally prisoners, they could spend their time in idle and vicious ways at an immense cost to the honest tax-payer.

The State Board corresponded with the various county boards of supervisors, urging them, who only had the power to do so, to correct the evil, and provide and require work of inmates. More or less favorable responses have been received. Some officers have acted promptly, and have set the prisoners "serving sentence" in their respective jails to work; and the majority of the replies to the State Board's communication are such as to encourage the hope that in the near future the cause of idleness in our county jails will be a thing of the past. In this connection, and in consideration of the fact that our Conference will be held in Kent County, it seems proper, in passing, to simply mention that in the jail of Kent county the plan for such labor is the most complete of any county in the State.

The Michigan legislature of 1895 enacted the following law: —

> Any person, society, or asylum engaged in indenturing or placing in homes any child or children brought from any other State for the purpose of placing in homes by indenture or otherwise shall, before placing such child or children in any home, file with the judge of probate of the county in which such child or children is to be placed a bond with two or more sureties, one of which sureties shall reside in the county where such indenture is made, and both of whom shall be residents of this State, in the sum of one thousand dollars for each child so placed, to be approved by the probate judge of said county, which bond shall be conditioned that the child for which it is given shall not become a town, county, or State charge before it shall have reached the age of twenty-one years. . . . The experience of Michigan has been such that the legislature deemed such an enactment necessary; and the Board of Control of our State Public School reports that its effect has been such as to enable them to place its own wards in homes, to such an extent as to empty one of the cottages at the home, and make room for the home to receive infants under two years of age,— a class which has heretofore been excluded, and which remained in our poorhouses because of lack of room.

The fourteenth annual conference of county agents and convention of the Board of Corrections and Charities was held at Flint, Dec. 10, 11, 1895. The usual interest was manifested, and enjoyment and profit derived. The convention was honored by the presence of Rev. H. H. Hart, General Secretary of the National Conference, and delighted and instructed by one of his stirring addresses.

The "Pingree Potato Plan," or the cultivation of idle lands, is worthy of mention in this paper; but the space allotted limits such mention to the simple statement that the plan, which originated in 1894, has met with wide-spread approval, and has been adopted in several cities throughout this country, and even attracted some attention in the Old World.

MINNESOTA.

Population, 1,575,000.

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM W. FOLWELL, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

No session of the legislature has been held during the past year, so there is no legislation to report.

The State Fire Relief Commission completed its work June 1, 1895. Notwithstanding the hard times, nearly every one of the 2,700 fire sufferers relieved is now a self-supporting citizen.

The fourth Minnesota Conference of Charities and Correction was held at Faribault, Oct. 29–31, 1895. The excellence of the papers presented in the last two conferences may be judged from the fact that two of them were printed by *The Lend a Hand* of Boston, and three by the *Charities Review* of New York. As a result of the Faribault conference, the Minnesota Prison Association has been organized, with branches in St. Paul and Minneapolis.

The Minnesota *Bulletin of Corrections and Charities*, published by the State Board of Corrections and Charities, has a wide circulation, and promotes communication between the State Board and those who are interested in the charitable and correctional work of the State.

The semi-annual pauper enumeration taken by the State Board of Corrections and Charities indicates that the hard times have left a permanent increment to our pauper population. The ratio of paupers to the general population of the State in June, 1890, was 3,910 to the million; and June 30, 1895, it was 5,438. In the three cities of St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth the ratio of paupers in June, 1890, was 4,140, and in June, 1895, 8,185,—an increase of 100 per cent. In the 78 rural counties the ratio increased in five years from 3,820 to 4,360, an increase of only 14 per cent. The burdens of pauperism in Minnesota are still comparatively light.

On the other hand, the prison enumeration of December, 1895, shows that the ratio of prisoners to the million inhabitants was, Dec. 31, 1885, 750; Dec. 31, 1890, 715; Dec. 31, 1895, 683,—showing a material decrease. Contrary to the general experience, while the ratio of prisoners has diminished in the urban counties from 1,580 to 1,300 in the past three years, it has increased in the rural counties from 385 to 445.

Our insane population continues to increase much more rapidly than the general population. The ratio of insane persons in the State hospitals to the population in 1880 was 820; in 1885, 1,145; in 1890, 1,500; in 1895, 1,790. We anticipate a steady increase in our insane population until we shall have reached a ratio of perhaps 3,000 in the million.

Charity organization continues to make progress in Minnesota. The Associated Charities of St. Paul and Minneapolis gain steadily in public confidence, and associated charities have been organized in several of the smaller cities of the State.

There are in the State twenty-five hospitals for the sick, several of which maintain training schools for nurses. In St. Paul the City Hospital, St. Luke's Hospital, and St. Joseph's Hospital have all built important additions during the last year.

A new custodial building to accommodate 150 males will soon be opened at the School for Feeble-minded. This will increase the capacity of the institution to 600, but more applications are now on file than can be accommodated in the new building. Minnesota is doing more for the feeble-minded, in proportion to her population, than any other State in the Union. We are fully committed to the policy of custodial care for the adults of this class, not only as a matter of humanity, but as the only efficient means of preventing the increase of this most unfortunate class.

The separate system of keeping county jail prisoners is required by law, and is increasing in favor among the Minnesota sheriffs.

Delinquent and Dependent Classes.

A. Group of Delinquents.

State convicts, serving sentence in the State prison and State Reformatory, 565 (ratio, 360); *petty convicts*, serving sentence in workhouses and jails, 346 (ratio, 220); *prisoners awaiting trial* in

jails and lockups, 169 (ratio, 105). *Total number of prisoners* Dec. 31, 1895, 1,080 (ratio, 685).

Juvenile Delinquents in State Training School Dec. 31, 1895, 369 (ratio, 235).

B. Group of Destitutes.

Class 1. *The Aged Poor.*— Inmates of poorhouses December, 1895, 539 (ratio, 340). Total number of poorhouse inmates for the year, 995. Boarded out in private families at public expense, 278 (ratio, 175). Inmates of homes for the aged, 175 (ratio, 115). Total of these three classes of destitutes, 992 (ratio, 630).

Class 2. *Destitute Children.*— In the State Public School, 178 (ratio, 115). In orphan asylums and similar institutions, 900 (ratio, 570). Total, 1,078 (ratio, 585). (Not including 400 children placed in homes by the Children's Home Society and 817 placed in homes from the State Public School, still under guardianship, but not kept at public expense.)

Class 3. *The Sick Poor.*— Kept in public or private hospitals at public expense in December, 1895, 282 (ratio, 180), not including 700 private patients in hospitals.

C. Group of Defectives Dec. 31, 1895.

Class 1. Pupils in School for the Blind, 68 (ratio, 45).

Class 2. Pupils in School for the Deaf, 235 (ratio, 145).

Class 3. Insane patients in State hospitals, 2,831 (ratio, 1,800).

Class 4. Feeble-minded in State School, 457 (ratio, 290).

MISSISSIPPI.

BY J. L. POWER.

The charitable or humane institutions of Mississippi are the State Lunatic Asylum at Jackson, the East Mississippi Insane Asylum at Meridian, the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Jackson, the Institution for the Blind at Jackson, the Natchez Hospital at Natchez, and the State Charity Hospital at Vicksburg. The four first named are supported wholly by the State; the other two, by equal appropriations from the cities and the State.

The State Lunatic Asylum had 751 patients Dec. 31, 1895, 395 white and 356 colored: the East Mississippi Asylum had 243 patients, all white,— in both about 1,000, less than two-thirds white.

The appropriations for the State asylum (1896–97) amount to $203,000 for both years. This includes $8,000 for "the erection of an infirmary for the better care of the acutely sick and consumptives," which is now building.

The appropriations for the East Mississippi Insane Asylum amount to $80,200 for both years; that is, $275,000 for current expenses in two years, in both institutions, which are efficiently and economically conducted.

The Institution for the Deaf and Dumb had a total enrolment during 1894 of 74 white, and 27 colored; and appropriations for 1896–97, $49,531. The Institution for the Blind had a total enrolment Dec. 31, 1895, of 40. Appropriations for the two years, $18,514. All our charitable institutions are opened to both races, each in separate buildings, but receiving the same care in every respect. The people of Mississippi, regardless of politics or creeds, pride themselves on a generous care of the unfortunate and afflicted.

In the State Charity Hospital at Vicksburg 5,762 patients were treated in 1895, of whom 128 died. In the Natchez Hospital were 2,092 admissions in 1895, of whom 125 died. Of those who died, 15 per cent. were of patients taken to hospital in dying condition.

The Constitution of 1890 provides that

No penitentiary convict shall ever be leased or hired to any person or persons, or corporation, private or public or quasi-public, or board, after December the thirty-first, A.D. 1894, save as authorized herein, nor shall any previous lease or hiring of convicts extend beyond that date; and the legislature shall abandon the system of such leasing or hiring as much sooner than the date mentioned as may be consistent with the economic safety of the State. The legislature may authorize the employment, under State supervision and the proper officers and employees of the State, of convicts on public roads or other public works, or by any levee board or any public levees, under such provisions and restrictions as it may from time to time see proper to impose; but said convicts shall not be let or hired to any contractors under said board, nor shall the working of convicts on public roads or public works, or by any levee board, ever interfere with the preparation for or the cultivation of any crop which it may be intended shall be cultivated by the said convicts, nor interfere with the good management of the State farm, nor put the State to any expense. The legislature may place the convicts on a State farm or farms, and have them worked thereon under State supervision exclusively, in tilling the soil or manufact-

uring or both, and may buy farms for that purpose. It may establish a reformatory school or schools, and provide for keeping of juvenile offenders from association with hardened criminals. It may provide for the commutation of the sentence of convicts for good behavior and for the constant separation of the sexes, and for the separation of the white and black convicts as far as practicable, and for religious worship for the convicts. Convicts sentenced to the county jail shall not be hired or leased to any person or corporation outside the county of their conviction after the first day of January, A.D. 1893, nor for a term which shall extend beyond that date.

The convicts are now worked on three large farms, purchased and controlled by the State; the governor, attorney-general, and three railroad commissioners being the Board of Control. This board, in its last report, says that "the work of the year has demonstrated beyond all question that convicts can be worked advantageously on lands owned by the State, and not only made self-sustaining, but, with anything like good management, can be made to yield a profit." The board expresses deep regret "that the death-rate for 1895 is unsatisfactory; but upon the most constant and careful inquiry the board cannot attribute it to the improper treatment of the convicts, nor to any special causes except the general amount of sickness that has prevailed during the year, the number of chronic invalids among the convicts, and the wretched condition in which many are brought to the prison from the county jails." (Deaths, 74.) The last report is to Sept. 30, 1895, where the total on hand was 990: white males, 132; black males, 848; black females, 10.

Lifetime convicts, incurables, and those with chronic diseases are kept in the central prison in Jackson, where they are variously employed. The legislature at its recent session passed a bill for a separate institution for juvenile offenders, but it did not reach the governor in time for examination before adjournment. The matter will be taken up at next session, and there is no doubt of the measure becoming a law. The necessity for this is apparent from the last statistics of the prison, showing convicts under 15 years, 21; 15 to 20 years, 272; 20 to 25 years, 310.

In addition to the charitable institutions maintained by the State there are several orphanages supported by voluntary contributions,—three of these at Natchez (two Catholic and one Protestant). The Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian denominations are also collect-

ing funds for the establishment of homes for widows and orphans having special claims upon them. The Masonic fraternity is accumulating a fund for the erection and endowment of a home, and the Odd Fellows have made a good beginning in the same direction.

MISSOURI.

BY REV. THOMAS M. FINNEY, D.D., CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Missouri holds biennial sessions of the legislature. The report of last year noted the legislation of the session in 1894–95 affecting the eleemosynary and penal institutions of the State. These institutions are controlled by local boards of managers,— the board in control of the State prison being the Secretary of State, Auditor, and Treasurer. Supervision is exercised by a biennial visitation and report to the legislature, by a committee appointed by the governor, consisting of one senator and two members of the House of Representatives. At the last session a bill to establish a State Board failed of passage. The Committee of Supervision reported adversely to such a measure. It is, however, being advocated by the press; and no doubt the effort will be renewed at the next session.

The scheme and charter granted by the legislature for the government of the city of St. Louis provides for a Board of Charity Commissioners, which is invested with absolute control over the management of the city correctional and charitable institutions. The commission is appointed by the mayor. Recently two women have been appointed, one of whom is its chairman; and there has been unusual activity in the exercise of its functions and authority. The need of various reforms in administration and equipment has been brought to public attention, and lately there has been formal arraignment and removal of the superintendent of one of the institutions. His appeal from this action to the civil court is pending. The entire proceeding has awakened much public interest, especially along the line of incompetency and abuses in management, incident to appointments governed by political affiliations.

In former reports of the Corresponding Secretary, and especially in that for the year 1893, there are complete enumeration and statistical data of the institutions, public and private, for the care of the unfortunate and dependent classes, to which the inquirer is referred,

no material change in their number, condition, and operations having occurred. The State maintains schools for the blind and the deaf and dumb, and three hospitals for the insane, and makes an appropriation for the St. Louis Insane Asylum, two reformatories, respectively for boys and girls, and State prison. These institutions are, with some exceptions, well supplied with buildings and equipment, and are reported well managed.

The census of the penitentiary shows an extraordinary increase,— 1,689 inmates in the year 1892 and 2,178 in 1894, being an increase of 29 per cent., and in the ratio of about 700 to the million of population. The inspectors in their report attribute this increase to the financial and industrial depression occurring during that period. Only 1,000 are employed under contract, and at rates per diem fifty cents for males and forty cents for females. One-sixth of the convicts are under twenty years of age, and one-third between twenty and twenty-five years. The more youthful convicts are being sent by the governor to the Reformatory at Boonville.

There are almshouses in eighty-eight of the one hundred and six counties of the State, with 2,603 inmates reported in 1892, being in the ratio of 867 to the million of population.

For the care of the sick there are twenty-seven hospitals, eighteen located in the city of St. Louis, six in Kansas City, two in St. Joseph, and one in Hannibal.

There are eleven orphanages in the State, of which eight are in St. Louis. Waifs are cared for by the municipality, and a House of Refuge is maintained for wayward and abandoned children; and for the dependent many private charities, in some of which there is industrial training. An auxiliary of the National Children's Home Society has been in existence several years, with main office in St. Louis, and its organization and operations extended largely throughout the State.

There are four organized relief societies,— Kansas City Provident Association, and in the city of St. Louis the Provident Association, the Hebrew Relief, and the St. Vincent de Paul Societies. Their reports for the past year show ample support and efficient work. The oldest is the St. Louis Provident Association, now in its thirty-sixth year. It adopts the principles, aims, and methods of charity organization. In late years it has enlarged the scope of its operations, especially on the lines of employment relief, which now

embraces wood-yard and men's lodge, laundry, sewing-room, woman's lodge, and day nursery. During the past year the department of district nurses has been introduced; and during the four months ending May 1, 1896, a restaurant for cheap meals has been conducted, the rate being from one to five cents. There were sold 66,297 meals, and it was practically self-supporting and the experiment otherwise satisfactory.

MONTANA.

BY MRS. LAURA E. HOWEY, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

That there has been a rapid advance in sentiment concerning the care of the dependants, delinquents, and criminal classes in Montana, is apparent to a close observer. Since Rev. J. H. Crooker came to the State, four years ago, he has been an important factor in educating the public mind as to what was going on elsewhere. He drew up the bill, which became a law, creating our State Board of Charities. He has written articles for the press, preached sermons upon the proper care of these classes, served on the local charity committee of Helena, and organized, finally, a club last year for the express purpose of studying such institutions as the Elmira Reformatory and the Sherborn Prison, Hull House, and People's Palace (London), Toynbee Hall, etc. The fruits of the labors of this one man are seen by the intelligent action of our citizens. The new prison at Billings is to have a separate department for women. The old prison has been remodelled, and younger convicts and women are kept apart from the others. A school has been established there, conducted by a prisoner.

Our Asylum for the Insane is conducted upon the newer methods of treatment; although, we regret to say, Montana has still the contract system in full force in the care of its poor, insane, criminals, deaf, and blind. The Reform School is in charge of a man from Indiana, who has proved acceptable to the board at Miles City, where it is beautifully situated, with a fine farm, well cultivated by the boys. Two good brick buildings have been erected for schools and workshops, all in running order. This institution, for one so young, is a great credit to our State.

The State maintains an Orphans' Home at Twin Bridges, "to provide a home for all destitute children, especially orphans and

foundlings under twelve years of age, and to provide them with schooling, clothing, etc." The State appropriates $10,000 per year. The home contained, July 1, 1896, sixty-three inmates. The property of the institution aggregates $30,000. It is proposed to build a hospital, and shops for the industrial education of the older boys and girls in the mechanics, the arts, etc. The latest society for children here is the one finding homes for them. Its president, John W. Wade, of Helena, says it is doing a splendid work. The sisters at Helena are caring well for the little fatherless and motherless ones in their charge. The State appropriated $50,000 for a building at Boulder for the deaf and blind, which is fast nearing completion. Professor Tillingfast has charge of these little ones, twenty-one in number, and more waiting to enter when the home is ready. County farms for the poor are now established in nearly all the counties. None are farmed out to people as formerly.

NEBRASKA.

BY A. W. CLARK, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There is no legislation to report, because there has been no session of our legislature the past year. The new State Home for Old Soldiers, which was provided for at the last legislature, at Milford, was opened a little less than a year ago, and has met a real want.

Our State Relief Commission, created to help the drouth sufferers, completed its work in June, 1895. In February, 1896, the Nebraska farmers remitted to the Chicago capitalists a cash payment of 40 per cent. of the entire loan which was made to assist them in securing seed-grain. This proves they were not paupers. It also appears that no one was pauperized by the aid given in the winter and spring of 1895.

The past year has marked a rapid growth of public sentiment in favor of humane measures in the management of our State Penitentiary. I reported a year ago that the old lease system had just been abolished. Since that time the State has had the management and control of the prisoners. The new plan has proved to be beneficial to the prisoners and economical for the State. Under the old system each prisoner cost the State 40 cents per day. Under the present

system it has cost only 20 cents per day. It is not the purpose, however, of our Board of Public Lands and Buildings to try to make the institution self-supporting. New measures are contemplated for training prisoners in certain trades. Attention will be given also to the development of moral character and self-respect. I think the usual prison clothing, with the old-fashioned, disgraceful stripes, will be done away, and citizens' clothing adopted. During the past year there has been a reduction of 15 per cent. in our prison population.

The great increase in the number of insane the past year has surprised us all. 105 new patients have been received into the hospitals. Many of these are crowded into unsuitable quarters. Many urgent applications for admission have been refused. These patients refused are in county poorhouses and in county jails. The jails, especially, are barbarous places for them; and the people are clamoring for their removal. The State officers do not know what to do. Such an increase of insane population was not anticipated, and so was not provided for by our last legislature. We cannot account for this increase, but believe it is largely due to the disappointments of the people in the loss of crops and to the financial difficulties of the past few years.

The same causes have been at work to increase the number of dependent children. The number receiving State care has been increased but very little, but the number placed in homes has been greatly increased. There is a constant growth of sentiment in favor of the placing-out system, and in opposition to institutional life for children. Strong appeals will be presented to the next legislature to construct new buildings for the Industrial School for Girls at Geneva. Curfew ordinances have been passed in the larger cities of the State, including Lincoln, the State capital. This law will be given a fair trial.

Local charities have gone on about as usual. The Omaha Associated Charities tried the Detroit system of gardening last summer, with satisfactory results.* The Charity Organization Society of Lincoln has had the constant and active co-operation of every church in the city.

*"The Pingree Potato Plan." See page 55.

NEVADA.

No report was received from Nevada except from Warden L. O. Henderson of the State prison. The prison received, during the year 1891–2, 98 prisoners; 1893–4, 78 prisoners. The State gives each discharged prisoner $25. 75 per cent. of the prisoners are tramps.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

MRS. I. N. BLODGETT, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

New Hampshire makes haste slowly, but surely, in her charitable work. As we have biennial sessions of the legislature, and no session this year, strictly accurate reports concerning the insane and dependent poor usually made to that body or the State Board of Lunacy cannot now be given.

The State prison at Concord, having an average of 175 prisoners, and for several months but 2 of these women, has been self-supporting for the past three years, chair-making being the chief industry. The legislature votes an aid to discharged prisoners, and by means of the Prisoners' Aid Society, established about twenty-five years ago, assists them to find employment, and so helps them to start honest lives.

The State grants $1,000 annually to assist special feeble-minded children, $4,000 for the blind, and $5,000 for deaf children, all of which is expended in institutions out of the State, there being no schools of the kind as yet among our charities. It also grants $6,000 a year to the State Industrial School at Manchester, which is further helped by counties and towns sending criminal or delinquent children. In April, 1895, there were 130 inmates, in April, 1896, 143, 24 of whom were girls. The superintendent reports an annual increase of commitments, and that two-thirds are of foreign birth. The trustees report annually to the governor and council, and claim that "the greater number are redeemed from a life of vice."

The Soldiers' Home at Tilton is granted $15,000 a year, supplemented by a valuable farm; and the past year $10,000 additional has been expended to build a connecting hospital. There are 93 inmates.

The State grants $16,000 for indigent insane who are supported in the State Insane Asylum and in the insane buildings at the county almshouses. The State Asylum at Concord in many respects is very prosperous, and is said to have received larger bequests than any other State institution of the kind in the Union. Last year a new building designed for paying convalescent patients (men) was erected at an expense of $25,000. The indigent insane are taken to the State Asylum for remedial treatment. If chronic, they are returned to the almshouses, there to remain. In 1880 the population of New Hampshire was 346,991, and the number of insane in the State was 1,017. In 1890 the population was 376,530; and the census reported only 960 insane, the percentage of apparent decrease being 5. At present the insane at the asylum number 406, 200 men and 206 women; at the almshouses, 296,—702 in all. Insanity affects about equally men and women. The Board of Lunacy is doing faithful work in trying to improve the care of the insane; and the records kept by the State Board are a model for any institution. The State Asylum for many years has been under the care of Dr. Bancroft, and previous to that was superintended for many years by his father.

There are ten almshouses in the State, in as many counties; and in a majority of these are houses of correction or jails, in which in April, 1896, were about 240 criminals, making the whole number of prisoners in the State about 415. The aged and infirm poor now number about 1,200, including the insane and the imbecile children (men being largely in the majority), and are maintained in the almshouses at an average weekly cost of $1.50. About as much more is paid for outdoor relief.

Under the new law passed at the last session of the legislature a State Board of Charities was organized, which has custodial care of all dependent children, sound in mind and body, between the ages of three and fifteen, finding homes for such in institutions or families. Although it has been established less than a year, much has been accomplished in the line indicated. There are in the five Protestant children's homes about 220 children, and in the five Catholic children's homes 430 inmates,—650 in all. Besides these there are the feeble-minded children and infants in the almshouses, which are included in the 1,200 given above as the number of dependent poor. For some years child dependence has increased, but not out of proportion to the increase of population.

Training schools for nurses are connected with six of the seven hospitals of the State for the care of the sick.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union maintains a Reformatory Home for women and girls. In three of our cities are homes for the aged. The Odd Fellows also support a fine institution. Further legislation is needed in regard to the insane, the feeble-minded, and the dependent children; and the scope of the State Board of Charities should also be enlarged.

In brief, in a population of nearly 400,000 we have in establishments 558 criminals (including delinquents), 702 insane, 650 dependent children, and 1,200 indigent poor or paupers.

NEW JERSEY.

BY MRS. EMILY E. WILLIAMSON, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The total population of the State of New Jersey is 1,444,933.

The legislature convened on January 4, and adjourned on March 26. The Penal Commission appointed by a previous legislature to report upon the indeterminate sentence and probation act in force in Massachusetts and other States, and also upon a general revision of the penal code of New Jersey, has been continued by the legislature just adjourned, with orders to make a still further report and to submit bills. Charlton T. Lewis, LL.D., is chairman of this commission.

A commission has also been appointed to inquire into the condition of dependent children in the State, and to suggest plans for their removal from the pauper houses.

There are two large State hospitals for the insane and eight county asylums. The total number of insane, 2,612: men, 1,220; women, 1,387; children under fourteen, 5. There is also a State institution for feeble-minded women and girls, and a private institution, called the New Jersey Home, where feeble-minded boys are sent by the State.

There are 2,047 paupers in the various almshouses: men, 962; women, 721; children under fourteen, 364. The large majority of these children are in the almshouse of Hudson County.

The New Jersey State prison has 977 inmates,—950 men, 6 women.

There are two penitentiaries, one in Hudson County, the other in Essex County (the two most populous counties of the State). They are both of them admirable institutions, well managed and well constructed. The prisoners all work, principally at quarrying and stone-cutting. Total number of inmates, 412 : men, 376 ; women, 35.

The State Reform School at Jamesburg for wayward and vicious boys has 135 inmates. The State Industrial School for girls has 208 inmates. The Newark City Home for truant and wayward children (an auxiliary of the public school system) has 175 inmates.

The State Reformatory at Rahway, in process of erection, modelled after the plan of the Elmira Reformatory, is under the supervision of most excellent commissioners, all of whom are honored citizens ; and it is expected that this institution will in a short time after completion reduce the criminal population of the State.

The jails, one in each county, twenty-one in all, have had during the year 942 inmates,— 792 men, 132 women.

The jails of New Jersey are, as a general thing, in good condition, classification being possible. During the last few years several new jails have been erected, notably those in Cape May and Sussex Counties, upon the most approved methods. The erection of these jails was under the supervision of the Pauly Jail Building Company of St. Louis.

The jail in Passaic County is the best managed in the State, because each inmate is provided with work. The warden has been in office twenty-seven years. The next best in the State is in Union County. There the jailer is allowed to take entire charge of the Court-house, and in that way is able to provide work for the majority of the prisoners. Next in order comes Mercer County, which is simply a clearing-house for the courts. In this county there is a workhouse which has been in operation two years, and has materially reduced the number of commitments in the county. During the last ten years jail management has improved rapidly.

The almshouses are, in the majority of cases, simply homes for aged and infirm persons whose relatives cannot care for them (as the law explicitly demands that the aged shall be taken care of by their relatives, when able) and others who are incapacitated for work by accident or disease. There are only a few insane in the almshouses of the State, and they are chronic cases of the harmless type. While all acknowledge that there should be no insane in our almshouses,

still they are so well taken care of in the few cases above mentioned that a change will not be made by the State of New Jersey until the reformatory is completed and the dependent children are cared for.

The boards appointed by the governor and the legislature for the various institutions are non-partisan. The State Institution for Feeble-minded Women has three women and four men managers, and has at its head, as superintendent and medical director, Mary J. Dunlap, M.D. Number of inmates, 88.

The School for Deaf-mutes at Trenton is a fine institution and particularly well managed. It averages about 130 inmates, and is a part of the educational system of the State.

The Training School for Feeble-minded Children in Vineland is a private institution, and is chiefly sustained by the boys assigned to it by the State. Number of inmates, 140.

The charity organization societies now existing and working under the best known plan are those of Newark and Bayonne. The latter is a new association, and has at its head a man of advanced and progressive ideas. The Newark Charity Organization Society is one of the most complete in the United States; for it has the cordial support and indorsement of all the religious organizations, the city officials, and the police. Its relief work during the financial depression was as complete and satisfactory as any such work done by any other organization. Its object was to regulate the giving of relief so as not to encourage pauperism, and results show that the work was well done. In every large city there are one or more private hospitals.

In 17 of the 21 counties dependent children are always placed by the freeholders or city authorities in the private homes for children or orphan asylums, their board being the same as the amount needed for their support in any almshouse.

The State Charities Aid, Public Charities and Prison Reform Association of New Jersey, supervises the tax-payer's charities. This association was created by the legislature in 1886 for this purpose.

NEW MEXICO.

BY REV. MARY J. BORDEN, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The only legislation upon the question of charities to report from our last legislature is an act providing for an annual appropriation of Territorial funds for the New Mexico Children's Home at Albuquerque. This institution was first established by the local Woman's Christian Temperance Union, afterward incorporated under the State laws, and managed by a board of directors, independent of any organization, with Rev. Mary J. Borden president. The object of the home is to care for dependent, orphan, and abandoned children, adopting into permanent homes whenever possible to do so. Average number cared for during the year, 14. Appropriation, $2,000 per year.

There are Territorial appropriations for the support of five other charitable institutions, namely: Grant County Hospital and Sisters of Mercy Hospital in Grant County; Orphan Asylum and the Sanitarium, Santa Fé; also the Relief Society, Las Vegas. Total appropriation, $20,000. Average number of persons provided for, 146. The insane asylum of Las Vegas was granted additional funds for extending buildings and other necessary improvements. Capacity of present building, 60. Average number of patients for the year, 60; average cost per capita for the year, $253\frac{92}{100}$. Managed by board of directors. George W. Ward, steward.

Daily average of convicts in the penitentiary Jan. 1, 1895, to Dec. 31, 1895, 178. Capacity of prison cell-house, 200. Average *daily* cost, including subsistence, clothing, salaries, medical attendance, etc., $46\frac{28}{100}$. Superintendent E. H. Bergman recommends additional appropriations for enlarging the penitentiary land-holdings, for increased orchard planting, gardening, and truck-farming purposes.

The city council of Albuquerque appropriates $25 per month to the Ladies' Benevolent Society for the poor of the city.

Local and private charities have been greatly taxed during the past year; and an organized State Board of Charities and Corrections is one of the greatest needs of the hour, and an effort in that direction is being planned for the near future.

NEW YORK.

BY HOMER FOLKS, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The important events of the year in the charitable history of the State have been connected with the operations of the Revised Constitution, which took effect Jan. 1, 1895. The Revised Constitution provides that no payments of public money shall be made for inmates of private institutions unless such inmates are received and retained pursuant to rules established by the State Board of Charities (Art. VIII., Sect. 14). This provision was intended by the framers of the Revised Constitution to be a check upon the abnormal increase in the number of dependent children, and a safeguard for the system of granting public funds to private institutions. Under the former system of allowing private institutions to retain children committed to them for destitution or other cause as long as they wished, receiving meanwhile a per capita allowance, covering in many cases, and in some cases exceeding, the entire cost of the maintenance of the children, there had been a steady increase in the number of children in institutions in the State from 14,773 in 1875 to 33,558 in 1894,—an average increase of about 1,000 per year. While the population of the State increased 38 per cent., the population of children's institutions increased 96 per cent. It was demonstrated also that this increase of institutional population was due not so much to a larger number of children admitted as to the fact that in recent years the children have been kept much longer than formerly. The proportion of children in institutions in New York City who had been detained more than five years was, in 1873, 8 per cent., in 1894, 23 per cent.

The temporary rules adopted by the State Board of Charities in January, 1895, required each institution to make a full report to the State Board of Charities concerning each inmate received, with particulars as to name, age, sex, names and residence of parents, etc., and also a full report as to the disposition made of each inmate leaving the institution. The effect of this excellent rule has been to establish in the office of the State Board of Charities a complete register of all the children dependent upon the public throughout the State.

Rules of a more permanent character were adopted by the State

Board of Charities June 8, 1895, to take effect on the first day of July. These rules introduce a new principle in the care of the destitute children of the State by providing that no destitute person shall be retained in any private institution as a public charge unless accepted in writing as such by the local authorities having charge of the relief of the poor; and, further, that all such acceptances shall become void *unless renewed yearly*. This rule, adopted under constitutional authority, overrides all previous special and general legislation and all previous acts of administrative officers, and fixes clearly and definitely upon the local poor authorities the responsibility for deciding what persons shall be public charges on the ground of destitution, and how long they shall remain such. The rule is clearly based upon right principles of administration.

It inevitably takes time to put into actual operation a change so fundamental and far-reaching. There was delay in securing legal interpretations of the Constitution and of the rules, delay on the part of the institutions in submitting lists of inmates to the local authorities, and delay on the part of the local authorities in acting on the same. Slowly, but surely, however, the new principle has been asserted.

It is too early to say much about results; but it is certainly no accident that, whereas the number of children in institutions in the State had increased for twenty years with an average increment of 1,000 per year, the past year shows a *decrease* of about 300.

The Department of Public Charities of New York City was by this rule charged with the responsibility for accepting, or refusing to accept, as public charges, some 9,000 children supported as destitute in private institutions,— children for whom they had hitherto had no responsibility. (The 7,000 children committed on account of ill-treatment or as juvenile delinquents are not included under this provision of the rules.) Five agents were appointed by the Department of Public Charities early in March, 1896, to investigate the circumstances of the parents of these 9,000 children. These agents have been at work, at the date of this writing, less than two months; but, as a result of their investigations, they have already recommended the return of 200 children to their parents. Concerning one institution containing 149 boys alleged to be destitute, they report that the parents of 51, or 34 per cent. of the total number, are not only able to assume the support of

their children, but desirous of doing so; and, as a result, the children have been returned to them. Some of the institutions have always endeavored either to return the children to their parents, if the latter became able to provide for them, or to provide family homes by adoption or indenture. A majority of the institutions, however, have hitherto made little or no effort to dispose of their children until they reached the age of sixteen years.

It should be said that most of the institutions affected by the rules have shown a commendable willingness to co-operate in establishing a right and proper system, in enforcing parental responsibility, and in observing the spirit as well as the letter of the new Constitution and the rules adopted under its authority.

The State Board of Charities, in view of its increased responsibility in connection with these private institutions, has reorganized its office force, creating the office of Inspector of Charities, whose duty it is to organize a system of inspection of private charitable institutions. This position has been filled by the former Assistant Secretary of the Board.

The year has been one of unusual activity in the public charities of New York City. The former Department of Charities and Correction, with its 17,000 inmates, has been broken up into three parts. The 7,000 insane patients have been transferred to the State. The correctional institutions, with about 4,000 inmates, have been reorganized as a separate department, the Department of Correction, under the charge of one commissioner, pursuant to legislation secured last year. There remain in the Department of Public Charities the public hospitals of the city, the almshouse, and the institutions for sick and defective children and for infants, containing a total of about 6,000 inmates. All the former commissioners have been replaced by appointees of the present mayor of New York City; and, unlike a majority of their predecessors, they have left their private business, and are devoting their time to the institutions under their charge. The legislature of 1896 has passed a bill authorizing the city to expend one million dollars, to be realized by the sale of bonds, in making repairs, improvements, and additions to the existing buildings, and in erecting new buildings in the Department of Public Charities. The buildings of this department have for many years been most shamefully neglected and overcrowded.

During the latter part of the past winter the police lodgings and the old lodging-rooms for men, connected with Bellevue Hospital, were closed; and for the first time in its history the city furnished lodgings for homeless men, in which bathing and disinfection of clothing were enforced, and an effort was made to investigate the circumstances of the lodgers, and to dispose of them accordingly.

The Craig Colony for Epileptics, a State institution, has been opened during the past year, having received up to this time about 100 inmates, all of whom are able to work. It will be developed strictly on the colony or village, as opposed to the institutional plan.

The legislature of 1896 passed and the governor approved a measure revising, consolidating, and generally improving and making uniform the poor laws of the State. (Chapter 225, Laws of 1896.) A bill revising the laws relating to the State charitable institutions is now in the hands of the governor.

In regard to the insane the principal event of interest is the completion of the State Care System, through the reorganization of the New York City Asylums for the Insane, as the Manhattan State Hospital, Feb. 28, 1896. A bill for this purpose prepared by the State Charities Aid Association was introduced on the opening day of the present session, was promptly passed by both branches of the legislature, and approved by the mayor and the governor, being the second law enacted during the present session. All the dependent insane of the State, about 19,000 in number, are now exclusively State charges, and are cared for in eleven State hospitals. For their maintenance the legislature levied a special tax of one mill, yielding an income of $4,200,000.

There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the best method of administering these institutions,—should they be controlled by a strong central board or, as heretofore, by separate boards of managers? In 1893 the legislature adopted the policy of allowing a central board, the State Commission in Lunacy, to act as a check upon the boards of managers of the several institutions, by providing, in effect, that the board of managers could make no expenditures except upon estimates which had been approved by the commission. The responsibility for the direct control of the institutions, the appointment of the superintendents, the establishment of by-laws, rules, and regulations, the letting of contracts, etc., was left with the boards of managers. A bill revising and consolidat-

ing the laws relating to the insane was introduced in the legislature of 1896, which went very much farther in the direction of centralization, making the action of the boards of managers subject in almost every particular to the approval of the commission. After numerous hearings and much discussion the legislature continued the policy adopted in 1893.

Just before the final passage of this bill an unfortunate amendment was inserted, legislating out of office on Jan. 1, 1897, the present boards of managers of the eleven State hospitals for the insane, except the State Homœopathic Hospital at Middletown, and authorizing the governor to appoint before the close of the year new boards of managers, consisting of seven members each. The number of managers of the various hospitals at present varies from three to thirteen. It is hoped that the governor will, so far as may be possible, reappoint the managers now in office, and that this last amendment to the revision of the lunacy laws may not prove to be an intrusion of partisan politics into hospital management. The expenditures in connection with the State hospitals for the insane for the present fiscal year will be about four and a quarter millions of dollars.

The special interest of the year in connection with the correctional institutions relates to the ever-recurring question of prison labor. The Revised Constitution provides that after Jan. 1, 1897, the product of the labor of inmates of prisons, penitentiaries, jails, and reformatories, shall not be sold or disposed of except to the State or the civil divisions of the State. The legislature of 1895 passed a proposed constitutional amendment, prepared by the Prison Association, which, in effect, would have repealed this provision. If the legislature of 1896 had also passed the amendment, it could then have been submitted to the people; but the legislature of 1896 failed to do so. A law has been enacted which attempts to furnish employment for the prisoners, under the present Constitution, by providing that no supplies of articles manufactured in the correctional institutions shall be purchased from any other source by the State or its civil divisions, unless the State Commission of Prisons shall certify that the supply of the articles in question cannot then be furnished by the correctional institutions.

A bill is in the hands of the governor authorizing the employment of the inmates of county jails in building and repairing highways and in preparing material for highways.

The newly established Department of Correction of New York City has been authorized by the legislature to expend $800,000 in rebuilding and enlarging the city prison known as the Tombs, and in making improvements and additions to other correctional institutions. The law of last year establishing a system of cumulative sentences in commitments to the New York City Workhouse for vagrancy, intoxication, or disorderly conduct, has resulted in a very considerable decrease in the census of that institution. The law has been somewhat modified by the present legislature, but its essential features remain intact.

One of the hopeful signs of the times in connection with the private charities of New York City is the establishment of the Joint Application Bureau and Registration System by the Charity Organization Society and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the latter of which has been for a long time one of the largest relief-giving societies of the city. The Charity Organization Society has issued during the year a new edition of the New York Charities Directory, and has continued its regular work and its special agencies, the Wayfarers' Lodge, the Work-rooms for Women, the Charity Organization Society Laundry, and the Penny Provident Fund.

The utilization of vacant lots for the benefit of the unemployed has been worked out on a large scale and with very satisfactory results under the direction of a committee of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, while another department of the Association has established the Cooper Union Labor Bureau. A Conference on Improved Housing was held under the auspices of the Association in March, 1896, which resulted in the organization of an Improved Housing Council. This council has secured the services of Professor E. R. L. Gould, and is addressing itself to the task of erecting model apartment houses in New York City, and of providing separate homes in a suburban village for those whose work will allow them to leave the city.

This report should not be closed without calling attention to the enactment of a law regulating the employment of women and children in mercantile establishments, and providing for the inspection of the same by the Board of Health, and also to a bill authorizing the city of New York to expend $150,000 in the erection of public baths. A determined effort to repeal the essential features of the excellent tenement-house law of last year was defeated.

It should also be said that all the interests represented at this Conference have received a new impetus and support in New York City through the change in its municipal administration, resulting in the better enforcement of the laws. The trucks have been taken off the streets, the streets have actually been kept clean, the health and building departments have exercised greater vigilance, the laying out of small parks has been pushed more vigorously, the saloons have been closed on Sunday, and all branches of the administration have shown a willingness to co-operate with the private charitable agencies of the city.

The number of inmates of the charitable institutions, hospitals for the insane, and penal institutions in the State on the 1st of October, 1893, 1894, and 1895, as officially stated by the State Board of Charities, the State Commission in Lunacy, and the State Commission of Prisons (established in 1895), is as follows: —

Charitable Institutions.

	1893.	1894.	1895.
Idiotic and feeble-minded	1,561	1,627	1,828
Epileptic	619	737	547*
Blind	718	706	670
Deaf	1,414	1,471	1,453
Dependent children	26,359	28,530	27,974
Juvenile offenders †	4,935	4,997	5,432
Reformatory prisoners	304	337	380
Disabled soldiers and sailors	959	1,017	1,100
Hospital patients	5,735	5,928	6,655
Aged and friendless persons	8,074	8,237	8,131
Poorhouse inmates	10,077	11,759	13,658
Total inmates, charitable institutions	60,755	65,346	67,828

Institutions for the Insane.

	1893.	1894.	1895.
In State hospitals	8,577	9,571	12,563
In New York City Asylums	6,084	6,395	6,806
In Kings County Asylums ‡	2,199	2,303	
In other county asylums	565	none	none
In private asylums	926	819	847
Total number of insane	18,351	19,088	20,216

* Including only those in poorhouses and almshouses.

† Including many committed for destitution. ‡ Reorganized as a State hospital in 1895.

Penal Institutions.

	1895.
In State prisons	3,607
In Elmira Reformatory	1,250
In county penitentiaries	4,574
In county jails (awaiting trial)	1,297
In county jails (convicted)	1,437
Detained as witnesses	24
Detained as debtors *	52
	12,241
Total inmates, charitable institutions, hospitals for insane, and penal institutions, Oct. 1, 1895	100,285

The population of the State is approximately 6,600,000. It thus appears that 1½ per cent. of its population are living in charitable or correctional institutions.

NORTH CAROLINA.

BY C. B. DENSON, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The recent changes in the criminal law, of importance, are as follows: Murder in the second degree has been established as a grade between murder in the first degree and manslaughter. On the whole, the change works well. Acquittals are less frequent, and sentences of thirty years' imprisonment at hard labor are imposed in flagrant cases. Train robbery has been defined, and is punishable with from ten to twenty years in the penitentiary; and attempts, by two to ten years. Prize-fighting, with or without gloves, has been made a crime, punishable with $500 fine, and one to five years in the penitentiary. The age of protection has been fixed at fourteen years. Punishment for larceny has been reduced to imprisonment for one year, when the value of the property taken does not exceed twenty dollars. This reform was much needed. Children have been sent to hard labor for five years for the theft of a book or a chicken. One, within the writer's knowledge, was confined in jail some time for stealing a canteloupe of the value of two cents.

The dispensary liquor law of South Carolina has been introduced

* Cases involving fraud.

into one town (Hickory, N.C.) as an experiment, and gives satisfaction there, it is claimed.

A new departure has been taken in the system of working the public roads. 100 citizens in any county may apply for and obtain an election to tax property 15 cents upon $100 valuation, and polls 45 cents, to form a fund for improving the roads; and then said county may retain its convicts, except in capital cases, and may receive twenty-five from the penitentiary, the whole to be guarded and kept at hard labor on the public roads of the county.

Other enactments, in special cases, have resulted in a steady and substantial improvement of roads, by macadamizing them, starting from leading county towns. But progress is necessarily slow, and but little has been completed as yet.

By the constant inspection and report of 400 visitors, male and female, in the 96 counties, under the direction of the Board of Public Charities, and the stimulus of their efforts, the jails and Homes for the Aged and Infirm are being improved, and their standard of comfort gradually raised. But the original basis was extremely low, in most cases; and time is required. Jail improvement has received an important impetus by the introduction of the Manly jail. It will rapidly take the place of the insecure and inhumane jails in many of our counties. Its mob-proof tower is a safeguard against the lynchings always deplored by good citizens.

The State charitable institutions were never so generously supported or as fully developed as at present. The three insane asylums received $439,000 appropriations for the biennial term. The recoveries in 1895 at the Eastern (colored) Asylum were 33 per cent., at the State Hospital 40 per cent. (of 191 admissions), and at the Raleigh Asylum 46 per cent.

The North Carolina School for the Deaf and Dumb at Morganton, nearing its completion, reports 60 "beginners" entering, said to be the largest number ever received in one session in any institution of the kind in America. It has about 200 pupils. The Institution for the Blind has been completely renovated, and many more of the afflicted received. The Orphan Asylum at Oxford, chiefly supported by the State, and those at Thomasville, Goldsboro, Charlotte, and Barium Springs, supported otherwise, have all been enlarged or otherwise improved. A new orphanage has been instituted, under the care of the Friends, near High Point, N.C.,

and has a bright future before it. The Colored Orphan Asylum has been enlarged, and the appropriation for it doubled by the last General Assembly. The Soldiers' Home provides for about 100 veterans, but will have to be much enlarged to meet the pressing need.

The Watts Hospital, erected by private benevolence in Durham, N.C., is doing good service, as are those sustained in Wilmington, Charlotte, Asheville, and other places. The Rex Hospital, founded upon a fund left some fifty years ago by a citizen of Raleigh, has been opened. A small hospital for incurables has been organized and maintained by the Kings' Daughters in Raleigh.

The Associated Charities in Wilmington and one or two other points has obtained a foothold in North Carolina, and will be regularly organized in Raleigh in a short time. At this place, also, it is expected that a Waif-saving Station will be established, a number of the Kings' Daughters being now at work with that object in view. Largely increased accommodations are to be provided at once in the orphanage at Goldsboro and at Barium Springs.

A benevolent woman of the town of Washington, N.C., has offered to give her eligible residence as a Home for the Feeble-minded. This department of charitable work has not yet been undertaken, although the State Constitution requires the maintenance of such an institution. So also the much needed Reform School has not yet been secured, although public sentiment is crystallizing in its favor. At the last session of the General Assembly a bill for the school passed one house, and lacked but a few votes in the other.

These things are encouraging, but they present a partial and rose-colored view. The sad fact remains that crime does not diminish. Never were the colleges so full, the public schools so well maintained. What is wanting in our system of education, that the moral sentiment is so feebly developed? Of $318,000,000 paid for education in the South since the freedom of the Negro, one-fourth, or $75,000,000, was used for colored schools. They share exactly pro rata in North Carolina as to numbers. Yet the superintendent of the penitentiary replies to the Board of Charities that no perceptible effect upon the statistics of crime can be discerned. He is a careful man and a lifelong teacher. What is wanting in what we call education in America?

NORTH DAKOTA.

BY MRS. J. G. HAMILTON, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

We have no State Board of Corrections and Charities. Bills to establish such a board have been introduced before various legislative assemblies, but have failed of enactment.

The penal and charitable institutions of the State have been governed, and, as a rule, acceptably, by boards of trustees appointed by the governor. On account of the financial necessities of the State the legislative assembly of 1895 cut all appropriations for State institutions, thereby seriously hampering growth and development.

The State penitentiary located at Bismarck was built in 1883, is well equipped, and is one of our model institutions. At the last report, made in 1895, the number of inmates was 102, only 1 of these a woman. Fully 90 per cent. of the prisoners are transients, who came to the State during harvest seasons. The prisoners do all the work of the institution, cultivate a farm of three hundred and twenty acres, and work on public roads. 20 are employed in the harness shop under contract.

The State Constitution provides for a reform school, and one has been located at Mandan; but no buildings have been erected. Juvenile offenders are, however, by an arrangement with South Dakota, sent to the Reform School at Plankington at an expense of $200 a year each. There are 14 children from North Dakota now at Plankington, 12 boys and 2 girls. This is the largest number we have sent at any one time.

The School for the Deaf, located in 1889 at Devil's Lake, opened in 1890 in an old frame building, with but 1 pupil. 49 pupils have attended since the opening, 29 being now in attendance. The building and appurtenances are valued at $22,000, and the school is yet incomplete. The combined system of instruction is used.

The Hospital for the Insane was located at Jamestown in 1883, and was opened for the reception of patients in 1885. The institution has steadily progressed, to-day being fully equipped with all modern appliances, and constructed on the segregate building plan. There is no suggestion of force about the place, iron gratings, cages, or cells being conspicuous by their absence. Since the opening of this hos-

pital up to November, 1895, 1,024 patients have been admitted, 36 re-admitted, 569 discharged, and 186 have died. The percentage of recoveries compares most favorably with other institutions of like character.

Other hospitals in the State are St. Alexius Hospital at Bismarck, in charge of the Benedictine Sisters; St. Luke Hospital, under auspices of the Lutheran church, Grand Forks; Grand Forks County Hospital and Poor Farm, Arvilla; the Hillsboro and Devil's Lake hospitals, maintained by city and county. Cass County has a hospital in process of erection.

The Soldiers' Home at Lisbon is one of the recent additions to our State institutions, and is one of the best of our public buildings. The remarkable freedom from rheumatism, the soldier's natural enemy, is considered largely due to this fact. At the last report the number of members was 30. Average number sick since opening, 0.9. A hospital and library are among their most pressing needs.

The city and county jail system throughout the State is sadly in need of reformation. There are few resident poor, most of those receiving aid from the counties being transients. There are many local ladies' organizations throughout the State, which care for the poor in their vicinity and find homes for abandoned children.

Provision will be made in the near future for the construction of an asylum for the blind, which was located at Bathgate in 1894; and it is hoped that a government appropriation of $30,000 for an additional penitentiary at Grafton may be diverted from its original purpose, and utilized for an asylum for the feeble-minded.

OHIO.

BY JOSEPH P. BYERS, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The report from Ohio for the year just passed can well afford to restrict itself to the presentation of reforms secured or to be secured through legislation enacted by the last General Assembly. The importance of several of these measures that are now upon the statute books will be appreciated when it is stated that they concern the employment of inmates of State institutions, including particularly the penitentiary, the sentences of persons repeatedly committed to workhouses, and the administration of outdoor relief.

The bill providing for the interchange of commodities between the several State institutions will be the means of a large saving in the expenditures for their maintenance. It provides for a commission, composed of a representative from each institution, who shall perfect plans by which the surplus products now made or produced or that may be made or produced in any State institution shall be used by the other institutions. The law contains at least a partial solution of the problem of prison labor.

The cumulative sentence law, while it has never been enforced to its full extent, has exerted such an influence on committing judges and magistrates as has tended to increase the penalties imposed on chronic misdemeanants; but the full benefit of the law has not been heretofore realized on account of a disposition on the part of officers charged with its administration to question its constitutionality. The law as amended has removed the possibility of a refusal to administer the law on such grounds, and its more general application is looked for.

But by far the most important work of the session, as affecting the administration of laws governing the relief or maintenance of the dependent classes, was the repeal of a section of our poor laws, which removes from the hands of the infirmary directors in each county the administration of outdoor relief funds. By the repeal of this one section the present system of administering this fund for the *professional poor* — for such it has become in a large degree — has been abolished; and the responsibility for such relief is thrown upon the several townships in each county, whose officers have authority to levy a tax for this purpose. The so-called "County Outdoor Relief" is thus abolished, taken out of the hands of the three infirmary directors, and given over to the trustees of each township.

The tendency will be to investigate carefully all persons applying for relief in the townships, inasmuch as the whole cost will be assessed as a township tax. Under the old system, by placing a "county fund" before the eyes of township trustees, the natural temptation or disposition on their part has been to secure for their own individual township their *share* of the county fund. The law does not go into effect until the first of March, 1897.

In our penitentiary we are still suffering from the evil effects of former pernicious legislation affecting prison labor. An attempt

was made during the session of the legislature to give partial relief by the passage of a bill increasing the ratio of prisoners who might be employed in any one industry, from 10 per cent. to 25 per cent. of the free labor engaged in similar industries. Such a bill passed the House by a vote of seventy to seven, but failed in the Senate, defeated by the labor vote and its friends (?). The vote in the House, however, is an indication of the growing sentiment opposed to the abolition of prison industries. The people of the State are beginning to doubt the wisdom of depriving the prisoner of employment, and thereby endangering his moral, mental, and physical health in order that the product of his labor may not come into competition with that of free labor. It is a question whether or not the prisoner is more the slave of the State than is the average laborer to the trades-unions.

The Hospital for Epileptics has now more than 500 inmates, about 20 per cent. of whom are children. This institution is being added to as fast as the appropriations will permit.

The Reformatory at Mansfield, after more than a dozen years spent in construction, is at last so nearly completed that the officers have been selected, and preparations are being made to open the institution by the first of July. An appropriation of $300,000 was made by the last General Assembly for the construction of the new State hospital at Massillon. The hospital will be ready for inmates by the fall of 1897.

Under the new administration of the Ohio penitentiary the old forms of corporal punishment, so long a disgrace to the State, are to be abolished, and the "Bertillon system for the identification of prisoners," introduced under Warden Coffin's former administration and discontinued by his successors, again adopted.

The Fifth Ohio State Conference of Charities and Correction was held in Delaware in October, 1895.

OKLAHOMA.

No report received.

OREGON.

BY W. R. WALPOLE, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There are located in Salem five State institutions,—the insane asylum, penitentiary, Reform School, School for the Blind and School for Deaf-mutes. Besides supporting these, the State contributes to the support of various charitable institutions within its borders. The last legislature passed no laws of special significance relating to these institutions.

In March, 1887, there were in the State penitentiary 258 convicts; in March, 1891, 358; in March, 1896, 408; one year ago, 361. This increase during the year does not indicate an increase of crime, but a conservative exercise of the pardoning power by the present governor.

The Reform School was established in 1891, and contains at present 125 boys. The number from urban and rural counties is about equally divided. Multnomah County, in which Portland, the only large city, is located, does not send more in proportion to her population than some of the counties having no large cities. Of the 232 boys on the rolls, 107 are out on parole.

The present number of inmates in the insane asylum is 1,060; five years ago it was 720; ten years ago, 450. One interesting feature is that there are no pay patients in the asylum, all being provided for by the State.

Portland has twenty-eight charitable and benevolent societies, not including lodges and church auxiliaries. There are three large and well-equipped hospitals.

The Boys' and Girls' Aid Society of Oregon was incorporated in 1885. Its aims are to rescue homeless, neglected, or abused children of Oregon, receive juvenile offenders who are in danger of being imprisoned, provide for such until suitable homes or employment is obtained for them, and continue a systematic attention to their condition and treatment.

Total number of children cared for to date, 931. For the year ending April 30, 1895, 262 children were received, of which number 146 were new cases. Since January, 1895, a graded parole system has been introduced, with beneficial results.

Homes were found during the year for 260 children. The aver-

age age is eleven years. The average cost of caring for and placing out children in suitable homes is $13.50 each. This society is about to erect a commodious building for carrying on its work.

Other societies doing a large and useful work in caring for neglected children are "The Home," under the auspices of the Ladies' Relief Society of Portland, and "The Baby Home."

During the past few months the National Children's Home Society has had an agent in this field, whose work has not been a success, as the ground is fully occupied by local institutions which can conduct child-saving work to much better advantage.

The charity and relief work of Portland is co-ordinated and assisted by the City Board of Charities, incorporated in 1888, and which now has on its records the names of over 14,000 applicants for relief. This organization has, from its inception, made careful investigation concerning all seekers for aid, and required work in return for all relief extended to able-bodied persons.

The county authorities, churches, and principal charitable societies refer cases to "the Board" for investigation, and act upon its advice. In consequence of following this method, begging and vagrancy have been reduced to a minimum in Portland. The county gives no outdoor relief to able-bodied persons except in exchange for work.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JAMES WILSON WALK, M.D., CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The legislature of this State meets biennally. It was not in session this year, and hence there has been no change in the laws.

Public sentiment continues favorable to a liberal provision for the dependent section of the population, and wiser methods of dealing with dependants are gradually gaining acceptance in the community. The Pennsylvania Association of the Directors of the Poor and Charities held its twenty-first session in Philadelphia during October, 1895. Thirty-eight (38) county poor boards sent delegates; and, in addition to these, there were representatives from fourteen (14) charitable societies and institutions. The attendance of accredited members numbered two hundred and forty-three (243). It was unanimously resolved to affiliate with the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and delegates were appointed to the meeting of that body at Grand Rapids.

The Board of Commissioners of Public Charities continues its work of visitation and supervision in regard to all charitable and correctional institutions. This Board has scarcely any executive functions. No journal is published by the Board. But the *Monthly Register*, conducted by the Charity Organization Society of Philadelphia, circulates among those interested in public charities, and publishes much interesting news concerning them.

One new State institution is in course of construction, — the Western Training School for the Feeble-minded, at Polk, Venango County. It will probably be ready for occupancy during the present year.

The present condition of the delinquent and dependent classes of our population may be briefly summed up as follows: —

A. Group of Delinquents.

Class 1. — *Criminals* are confined in three State prisons, — namely, the Eastern and Western Penitentiaries and a reformatory prison for first offenders under the age of twenty-five (25) years. This last has five hundred and thirty-one (531) convicts. The two penitentiaries have twenty-five hundred and thirty-one (2,531). It thus appears that in this State, with a population of nearly six (6) millions, there are three thousand and sixty-two (3,062) criminals serving sentences.

Class 2. — *The Vicious*, such as tramps, street-walkers, and drunkards, make up the population of two large workhouses under county control. The recent hard times have had an influence in crowding these institutions, which have had a maximum of nearly two thousand (2,000) inmates, most of them serving for from thirty to ninety days upon summary commitment by magistrates. Our courts send a number of short-term prisoners to the county jails; but the opinion of our best penologists is that the jails should be used only as houses of detention, and not for the punishment of convicts.

Class 3. — *Insubordinates*. We have two large State-supported Reform Schools for boys and girls, with an aggregate population of thirteen hundred and ninety-two (1,392).

B. Group of Destitutes.

Class 1. — *The Aged Poor* are supported partly in county poorhouses and partly in asylums under the patronage of religious

bodies or charitable societies. Many of these latter receive some aid from the State treasury.

Class 2.— *Destitute Children* cannot lawfully be retained in poor-houses for a longer time than sixty days. In view of this fact, our poor boards place such children in charitable asylums or intrust them to the Children's Aid Societies, of which there are several in different parts of the State. Such children are boarded at the cost of the counties until they can be adopted or indentured in private families. These children, supported by the counties, constitute only a small part of the population of the Children's Asylums and "Homes." By far the greater part are maintained by benevolent contributions or the income from invested funds.

Classes 3 and 4.— *The Sick and Injured Poor* are provided for in a large number of hospitals. A few of these are owned and controlled by the State (chiefly in the mining regions); but nine-tenths of them are independent charitable corporations. During recent years many of these have asked and received subventions from the State treasury; but the last legislature largely reduced these appropriations, the average retrenchment amounting to nearly 50 per cent.

In Pennsylvania the care of the destitute is very largely a matter of private benevolence. The charity organization movement is spreading throughout the State, with admirable results. In Philadelphia a federation of eighteen charitable associations has so districted the city as to cover all the territory, and their system is so thorough that the municipality does not need to supply aid to the poor in their own homes; and for many years the city government has given no outdoor relief except medical attendance. The officers of the private charities work in hearty co-operation with the public officials, and this has been greatly to the advantage of both.

C. Group of Defectives.

Class 1.— All our *blind children* of school age are offered an education at State expense. We have two well-conducted boarding-schools for the blind, accommodating two hundred and sixty-two (262) pupils. There is also a "Working Home" for blind men, and an "Industrial Home" for blind women, the two providing for two hundred and twenty-eight (228) inmates.

Class 2.— *All Deaf-mutes* are entitled to an education, mental and

manual, at State expense. There are four schools, and the aggregate of pupils is eight hundred (800). No provision is found necessary for the adult deaf-mutes. They are nearly all self-supporting, and many acquire property.

Class 3.— *The Insane* are increasing in Pennsylvania as elsewhere. We have six State hospitals and several more under county care. The aggregate number of patients is six thousand two hundred and fifty-six (6,256), and additional accommodations are urgently needed.

Class 4.— *The Feeble-minded* are provided for in a large institution at Elwyn, partly educational and partly custodial. It has nine hundred and fifty-eight (958) inmates, and is crowded. The new establishment now building at Polk will relieve this to some extent.

RHODE ISLAND.

BY J. H. NUTTING, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There is really little to report from a State where everything is so fully organized and so firmly established as in Rhode Island. Our unique system of management for State penal and correctional institutions is well known, though not so well understood or esteemed as it merits. After an experience of twenty-five years it is by ourselves regarded as far better than could be any other system of which we have heard. It is the best thing for Rhode Island. I shall hope to be able to say next year that a very much needed county jail for Providence County, to provide for some four hundred prisoners, has been erected. Has not our State the honor of being the first in the Union to adopt a separate system in county jails? Our jail convicts are as carefully isolated from each other and at all hours of day and night as are penitentiary prisoners. This has been the case for many years.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

No report was received from South Carolina except from Superintendent N. F. Walker, superintendent of the school for the deaf and blind. A gymnasium building has been erected and fully equipped, and a capable instructor in physical culture and gymnastics has been employed.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

BY REV. W. E. SHERRARD, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There has been much complaint by those in charge because of the smallness of the appropriations made last year; and I fear the rigid economy enforced was not beneficial to the best interest of the State, but the situation was perplexing. The large defalcation of the State treasurer came to light about the time the appropriations were made, and retrenchment became the watchword.

The penitentiary reports more inmates than at any other period of its history, about 140 in number. Some of these are United States convicts, however.

The only reform legislation attempted last year was a bill giving discretionary power to judges, so they could suspend sentence to the Reform School, and place the better class of children in the custody of societies organized for the purpose of placing them in family homes. It was felt that many children are sent to these schools, not because they were bad, but because their parents were bad. The measure met with no opposition, but was vetoed by the governor because of a clerical error. We hope the coming legislature will not only re-enact this law, but also pass one prohibiting children from being returned to their parents after the State has taken charge of them.

After children have been taught obedience in these schools, they should be placed in family homes instead of being returned to their parents and into the environment which had almost ruined them. Those who are trying to elevate the Indian race realize that the labor spent in their civilization is almost lost when the children are allowed to return to their parents. This is the weak point in reform school legislation.

Parents who have shown their incapacity to properly raise their children should have no voice in their bringing up after the State has been called upon to interfere.

During the year a Rescue Home has been opened at Pierre for fallen women.

TENNESSEE.

BY MATT HOKE, SECRETARY BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES, NASHVILLE.

The Tennessee Board of State Charities was created by an act of the legislature of 1895. The members of the board were appointed by the governor Feb. 6, 1896; and the board was organized April 15, 1896, and has not had time to gather statistics for this report.

Tennessee has three hospitals for the insane, located respectively at Nashville, Knoxville, and Bolivar. The other State institutions are the Tennessee School for the Blind at Nashville, the School for the Deaf and Dumb at Knoxville, the Tennessee Industrial School (a juvenile reformatory) at Nashville, the Confederate Soldiers' Home at Nashville. The State prison at Nashville, erected in 1829, will soon be transferred to new buildings being erected three miles from the city. The act providing for this new prison requires that it shall be so constructed that "the prisoners may be humanely cared for." Minors under eighteen years of age are to be kept in a separate department, and hardened and incorrigible offenders are to be separated from tractable ones.

The State has purchased a farm of a thousand acres adjoining the new prison, and also large coal mines in Morgan County; and it is proposed to work the convicts on this farm and in these mines, the lease system having been abolished.

The last legislature passed an act authorizing county courts, when they deem it desirable, to erect juvenile reformatories, and to levy a tax for that purpose. Two or more counties may unite in one reformatory if they desire. An act has also been passed, prohibiting the employment of children under twelve in factories, mines, and workshops.

A bill was introduced prohibiting the insurance of children under twelve, and passed the Senate with only two dissenting votes, but was defeated in the House by a lobby sent by wealthy insurance companies in the East. The legislature of 1893 passed an act raising the age of protection from ten to sixteen years.

The American Children's Home Society of Tennessee has recently been organized and chartered, with headquarters in Nashville.

TEXAS.

BY REV. W. L. KENNEDY, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Our legislature meets biennially, and no legislation can be reported.

We have in the State 4,400 convicts, distributed in the two prisons, Huntsville and Rusk (1,819), the remainder on farms and railroad trains.

Our insane are confined in three asylums,— one at Austin, one at Terrell, and one at San Antonio. I have been able to hear only from the asylum at Austin, under the superintendence of Dr. C. T. Simpson, from whose report I glean the following facts: —

Inmates remaining Oct. 31, 1894	675
Remaining on hand Oct. 31, 1895	651

South-western Insane Asylum at San Antonio: —

Patients remaining Jan. 1, 1895	240
Patients remaining Jan. 1, 1896	235

The population remains about stationary. When a vacancy occurs, a new patient is promptly admitted.

From our House of Correction and Reformatory, situated at Gatesville and under the superintendence of Mr. J. F. McGuire, I have the following data: —

Number of inmates received since founding of institution	693
Number of inmates discharged since founding of institution	511
On hand	182
Number of inmates received first year of institution	153
" " " " second " " "	100
" " " " third " " "	119
" " " " fourth " " "	128
" " " " fifth " " "	100
" " " " sixth " " "	93

Mr. McGuire writes me that less than 3 per cent. of inmates discharged have violated the law again.

From our school for the blind, situated at Austin, under Superintendent E. P. Becton, I have the following facts: —

Number of pupils enrolled present session 162
Number of pupils enrolled last session 157
Biennial appropriation for all purposes, $83,470.

From A. T. Rose, superintendent of school for deaf and dumb, the following: —

Number of pupils enrolled (an increase of 15, or 6½ per cent.) . . 252
Biennial appropriation, $96,868.

Of our pauper population and what is being done for them I know so little that I will not attempt to incorporate any items of either public or private beneficence.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT.

BY JOHN H. TRAYLOR, PRESIDENT OF THE ORGANIZED CHARITIES OF DALLAS.

The Organized Charities of Dallas began active work in December last. The active work terminated on February 29, with all accounts paid.

The plan adopted was to help those who, by personal interviews, gave satisfactory evidence of deserving it, or upon the recommendation of reputable citizens; but the usual rule has been to take the name, street, and number, and refer the application to the chief of police, who would turn it over to the policeman in whose beat the applicant resided, to investigate and make a full report, on blanks furnished, as to number, age, sex, character, and condition of the family or person, upon which report we would act as we thought right.

The pupils of the public schools on December 24 donated and turned over to the Organized Charities for distribution hundreds of packages of clothing, shoes, provisions, etc., there being some eight or ten wagon-loads.

This novel and laudable enterprise owed its inception and success to Professor J. L. Long, superintendent of the public schools, and Mr. George B. Dealey, of the Dallas *News*.

UTAH.

BY MRS. CORNELIA J. PADDOCK, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There has been no legislation this year in the line of charities and correction that marks any advance, with the exception of the bills in aid of the school for deaf-mutes and the bill making provision for the establishment of a school for the blind. The name of the State Reform School has been changed to State Industrial School, and the commodious and well-equipped buildings occupied by the school have been turned over to the State Institute for Deaf-mutes. The Reform School, opened in 1889, has not been a success; and the general opinion is that the confessed failure of the institution is chiefly due to the fact that so large a number of inmates, both boys and girls, have been kept under one roof. A strong effort will be made to have the cottage plan adopted at the next session of the legislature.

Utah makes no provision whatever for the feeble-minded. But the need of such provision has been discussed in several quarters this year, and such dreadful instances of the consequences of a lack of care in the case of feeble-minded women and girls have been made public that we hope the people will demand speedy action in the matter when our law-makers meet again.

We have now in reality but four State institutions for the delinquent and dependent classes,— the Deaf-mute Institute, the Insane Asylum, the Reform School, and the Penitentiary; but we hope to have a better report to make next year. Along the line of private charities there has been a distinct advance. Through the generous gift of Mr. C. N. Crittenton, of New York, a large building has been purchased, and the Rescue Home established on a firm basis. Over fifty women and girls have been received into the home since it was opened, and the good accomplished is incalculable.

The Woman's Home Association, organized in Salt Lake in 1894, lends a helping hand to women and children in every possible way. It has a free employment bureau for women and girls, a free dispensary, a physician who attends women and children without charge, and a Home of the Friendless, where any destitute and homeless woman or girl can find shelter. But the principal work of the Association is to seek out and endeavor to reclaim erring girls, and this branch of its work has been attended with great success.

The Crittenton Home for erring girls is located at Ogden; but the officers of the Salt Lake Association are also members of the board of managers of the home in Ogden, and the two organizations are seeking to extend their work throughout the State.

There are but two hospitals to report,— St. Mark's (Episcopal) and the Holy Cross (Catholic); and neither of these is, strictly speaking, a charitable institution.

St. Ann's Orphanage (Catholic) and the Orphans' Home (unsectarian) have each about 30 inmates. There are no other organizations in the State for the care of children.

VERMONT.

BY REV. J. E. WRIGHT, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The State of Vermont sustains the following institutions,— a State prison, a house of correction, an industrial school, an asylum for the insane, and a soldiers' home. It also pays for the care of a large number of dependants — insane, blind, deaf, and feeble-minded — in other institutions, both within and without its borders. Furthermore, private benevolence has established and sustains in the State several hospitals, homes for destitute children and old ladies, a house of mercy for girls, etc. The reports of the officers of the various State institutions are usually made to the legislature biennially. The last were made in the fall of 1894, and those for 1896 are not yet prepared.

The State paid in the year ending June 30, 1894, for the care of its criminals and dependants in its own institutions, as follows: —

Vermont Insane Asylum at Waterbury	$37,086
House of Correction at Rutland	16,112
Reform School at Vergennes	16,575
State Prison at Windsor	17,900
Soldiers' Home	10,000
	$97,673

It paid for its beneficiaries in other institutions as follows: —

Massachusetts School for Feeble-minded	$1,678
American Asylum at Hartford, Conn.	1,596
Clarke Institution at Northampton, Mass.	1,225
Perkins Institution at Boston	2,700
Brattleboro Retreat for the Insane	48,816
	$56,015

In 1890 Vermont contained 823 insane people. There were of these in the Brattleboro Retreat 388, Dec. 31, 1894, and in the State Asylum 220, the total cost of both being $85,902. The capacity of the State Asylum, which was pronounced overcrowded in 1894 by the State Board of Supervisors of the Insane, has recently been enlarged at an expense of some $150,000; and more than 200 more of the insane have been or will soon be removed from Brattleboro to Waterbury, where it will be possible to make the classification of the patients, in the new institution (in which also the criminal insane are confined), much more satisfactory than it has been heretofore.

At the Brattleboro Retreat increased attention has been given, in recent years, to employment, exercise, and diversion in the open air. More than half the patients have regular employment; and the summer cottages and camping ground, and eight miles of walks and drives on the extensive estate, prove of great advantage, while gratifying results have followed the giving a large number of the patients parole as an incentive to self-control.

It is noteworthy that for years the number of inmates in the penal institutions of the State has steadily increased. The State prison contained 88 convicts in June, 1892, 103 in December, 1893, 149 in December, 1894, and 166 in May, 1896. While the average number in the House of Correction during the year ending June 30, 1893, was 79, during the next year 91, it now (May, 1896) contains 120, and is excessively crowded, although additional room was secured, and marked improvements were made, especially in the plumbing and other sanitary arrangements, in 1894. The cost of subsistence for all in this institution, including the superintendent's family and the keepers, is announced as less than 10 cents a day.

The number in the Industrial School — the present name of the former Reform School — has also increased. It was 92 July 1, 1892, 99 Dec. 31, 1893, 102 June 30, 1894, and 110 May 11, 1896.

The Ling system of physical culture is employed in this school, and to the scholars' practice in the Sloyd system of manual training instruction in printing has been lately added.

VIRGINIA.

BY ROBERT GILLIAM, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The legislature, which was in session during the winter, did nothing toward increasing the means or the facilities for the alleviation of the poor and afflicted. On the contrary, the reduced revenues of the State necessitated a reduction in the annual appropriations for the maintenance of some of our public charities.

No new institutions have been established during the past year. Additions, however, to each of the State hospitals have been erected, in order that care and treatment may be provided for all the indigent insane of the State. At present 2,500 insane people (1,725 whites and 825 Negroes) are provided for at the four hospitals at an annual cost of $310,000. At one of the asylums for the white insane there is in course of erection a hospital cottage, which in points of construction and appliances will, when completed, compare favorably with almost any other hospital in this country.

At the Central Hospital, Petersburg, Va., for the colored insane, a separate building exclusively for insane epileptics will probably be erected this summer. Public thought has of late been directed toward the care of epileptics, and a humane sentiment has been aroused in the interest of those unfortunates of whom there are not less than 3,000 in the State. The legislature passed a bill providing for a commission whose duty it is to investigate the matter of State provision for epileptics. Eventually, we shall doubtless have a colony; for already the matter has been much agitated, and the plan has a large number of advocates.

That insanity in the State is on the increase there can be no doubt. In 1871 less than 600 white and 150 colored insane were in our asylums; while, as pointed out above, there are now 1,725 of the former and 825 of the latter. The ratio of the white insane to the whole population is 1 to 580, that of the Negro 1 to 750. It is a significant fact that there are now more insane Negroes in Virginia than were reported in 1860 in the entire United States. So here are problems for the serious consideration of psychologists and political economists.

On account of a depleted treasury our State hospitals are not so well equipped as they should be. Nevertheless there are evidences

of advanced thought and earnest effort in the administration of these institutions, which we hope some day to conduct according to the most progressive methods.

The State continues to provide a home for many of her poor old soldiers and to give small pensions to others. $140,000 is annually bestowed upon these worthy and deserving objects of charity.

There are no public charitable organizations for the relief of idiotic and feeble-minded persons, orphan or dependent children, the aged and the infirm. Many of these, however, are cared for in local almshouses or in homes maintained by private charity.

Under the direction of the Prison Association a reformatory for youthful criminals is maintained at a cost to the State of $12,000 per annum. The good influence which this noble institution is exerting is a cause for gratitude throughout the State.

The Penitentiary farm has been equipped so that many of the convicts are now domiciled there and employed at a profit to the State. There are in the Penitentiary 1,616 prisoners, 1,289 Negroes and 327 whites. The ratio of white criminals to the entire white population is 1 to 3,400, that of the Negro 1 to 490. In 1880 there were in the State prison 317 white and 680 Negro convicts. It is observed, therefore, that crime as well as insanity in the Negro has, in recent years, increased far out of proportion to the increase in the general population. And all this in the face of the fact that educational facilities for the freed race are being constantly enlarged and improved. These are problems for the consideration of sociologists.

WASHINGTON.

BY THOMAS P. WESTENDORF, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Washington State penitentiary at Walla Walla has a capacity of 554. There were 406 male and 4 female convicts present Sept. 30, 1895. Each convict confined here has cost the State, during the last fiscal year, $46.04½. Thomas Mosgrove is warden.

The Western Washington Hospital for the Insane at Fort Steilacoom, John W. Waughop, M.D., superintendent, will accommodate 600 patients. 521 are under treatment at present. The per capita cost is $4,448.

The Eastern Washington Hospital for the Insane at Medical

Lake, John M. Semple, M.D., superintendent, has a capacity for 300. Number of patients under care, 232. Cost per capita for 1894. $228.24.

Washington School for Defective Youth at Vancouver. Capacity, 160. Number in attendance, 141. Professor John Watson, director.

Washington State Reform School at Chehalis. Thomas P. Westendorf, superintendent. Capacity, 150. Number in attendance, 162. Cost per capita, $137.

Washington Soldiers' Home, Orting. H. L. Achilles, commandant. Capacity, 150. Number present, 130. Per capita cost, $226.10.

Besides these State institutions, there is a Home for Friendless Children, under the management of the Ladies' Benevolent Society, at Spokane. Mrs. W. A. Cannon is its president. The Sheltering Arms, 1015 South L., at Tacoma, Mrs. Barbara Ross, matron, supported by the Episcopal Church Charities Association. The Crown Jewels Home at Winlock, F. R. Brodahl, secretary, belongs to the Puget Sound Methodist Episcopal church. The Home for Dependent Children at Paulsbo, Kitsap County, C. F. Tollefson, principal. Bellingham Bay Children's Home at Fairhaven, Mrs. Foss, matron, supported by public charity. The Catholics support orphan asylums at Vancouver, Seattle, and Spokane, a Female Reform School at Seattle, an Industrial School for Boys at Seattle. They also have charge of five Indian schools in this State.

WEST VIRGINIA.

BY THOMAS C. MILLER, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

I have not been able to get much information of any kind relating to the cause you represent. West Virginia has few, if any, institutions of the kind named in your circulars.

We have two asylums for all conditions of unfortunates, from the helplessly insane to the imbecile, although sometimes, when the hospitals are crowded, this latter class may be excluded. There is a reform school for boys, but no provision for girls. There is also an asylum for the deaf, dumb, and blind, and a State penitentiary for all classes of criminals.

Superintendent W. P. Crumbacker of the West Virginia Hospital for Insane at Weston reports about 960 patients in his institution, and about 200 patients in the second hospital at Spencer. The second hospital will soon have a capacity of 400 patients; and the first hospital will soon have an additional building for colored patients, costing $30,000. Superintendent D. W. Shaw of the West Virginia Reform School at Pruntytown reports an enrolment of 135 boys. The grounds have been improved, and the school is progressing satisfactorily.

WISCONSIN.

BY G. FRELLSON, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Insane.— No change occurs to me that should be noted.

School for Deaf and Dumb.— The last legislature appropriated $10,000 for the construction and equipment of a manual training building, which will be erected during the year. No other change of special notice in the institution.

School for the Blind.— The last legislature appropriated $6,000 for the purchase of twenty-six acres of land adjoining that already belonging to the school, and the purchase has been completed. Also appropriated $25,000 for a new school building.

Industrial School for Boys.— For this institution $5,000 was appropriated in equipping a manual training department. This has been put in operation, utilizing a part of one of the old buildings for the purpose. An experienced teacher has charge of this department, and good results are already apparent.

State Prison.— An appropriation of $15,000 was made by the last legislature for an electric lighting plant, which will be in operation this year. A number of the prisoners have been employed in a knitting shop and tailor shop during the past year; in addition to this, under contract, in the making of boots and shoes. In the latter department the contractors are under obligations to employ but 300 convicts; and it was necessary, where business troubles caused them to reduce the force to that number, to find employment for the others, when the knitting and tailor shops were started.

State Public School.— The legislature made an appropriation for a new hospital building, which was needed. An additional agent has been put to work, and more has been accomplished in the way of

placing children in homes than in previous years. The number in the school March 1, 1896, was 221 as against 279 at the beginning of the fiscal year, Oct. 1, 1895.

Feeble-minded.— The institution for this class, provided for as stated in last year's report, has been located at Chippewa Falls, upon a tract of land embracing over one thousand acres. Work on the building and improvements will be prosecuted during this year as rapidly as practicable. It is expected to erect a custodial building, boys' dormitory, and heating plant with appropriations at present available.

Charity Organization Societies.— Charity organization continues to make progress in Wisconsin. The Associated Charities of Milwaukee do good work, and steadily gain in public confidence. Several of the smaller cities in the State anticipate the organization of similar societies.

Tramps.— An anti-tramp convention was held in Fond du Lac, and resolutions adopted indorsing the work of the Anti-tramp Society of Ann Arbor, Mich. Some of the smaller cities in Wisconsin have adopted the labor test, and are erecting stone and wood yards, where tramps will be compelled to work for what they receive.

The population of our State institutions at the close of 1895 was as follows: —

State Hospital for Insane, Mendota	455
Northern Hospital for Insane, Oshkosh	608
School for the Deaf, Delavan	182
School for the Blind, Janesville	103
Industrial School for Boys, Waukesha	347
State Prison, Waupun	615
State Public School, Sparta	281
Total	2,591

WYOMING.

BY MISS ESTELLE REEL, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Conditions and results in the matter of public charities and reforms in Wyoming have changed but little during the past year. The legislature of the State meets biennially; and, since there has been no session within the past twelve months, we have nothing to report in regard to legislation accomplished during that period. The work of completion of the new State penitentiary at Rawlins is being prosecuted, and it is expected that the building will be completed within the next twelve months. Provision has not as yet been made for the furnishing and equipment of this institution; and it will devolve upon the next legislature, which will meet in January, 1897, to provide for such equipment, and thus prepare the building for occupancy. In the mean time convicts are kept in the old Penitentiary at Laramie. The average number remains at about the same figure as for some years past. The year (Nov. 30, 1894) began with 113 convicts in the charge of the State, and closed with 108, there having been received during the year 45, and discharged 50. It appears to be a somewhat remarkable fact that no deaths have occurred among our convicts during the past two years, which fact seems to speak well for those who have the management and care of the prisoners in direct charge.

The number of juvenile delinquents in the care of the State continues to be very small, and the year closes with but 6 male and 3 female delinquents. These numbers are so small as to preclude any thought of establishing an institution expressly for them at the present time in this State. They are now kept in institutions of neighboring States at a comparatively small expense to Wyoming, and with, very probably, better results than could be obtained in a home institution, which would necessarily be limited in its advantages.

The deaf and the blind pupils of the State are educated at the Colorado School for the Deaf and the Blind at Colorado Springs. We have at present 4 pupils in this school, 1 of whom is blind, and 3 are deaf. They are reported as making satisfactory progress in the branches in which they are taught.

The absence of thickly populated districts, and the general wel-

fare of our people, are facts which may account for the absence of dependent children in this State. Very few cases of this character are found, and all such are provided for by local charities. This subject seems to be one of increasing importance, and one that is engaging the attention of charitable organizations generally in many parts of the country; but for the reasons above stated there has been no occasion for agitation of the subject in this State.

Pursuant to legislation accomplished in 1895, there have been two State charitable institutions brought into successful operation during the past year: the Wyoming General Hospital at Rock Springs and the Wyoming Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Cheyenne. These institutions are as yet in their infancy, but are already providing much good for those for whom they are established, and it is believed will be of increasing benefit in the future.

The number of insane patients in our State Insane Asylum has slightly increased; but, comparing the number admitted with those of former years and taking into consideration an increase of population in the State, it is believed that there is a gradual decrease in insanity throughout the State. The results obtained in the treatment of these unfortunates have been most satisfactory, and it is gratifying to note that a considerable number are each year discharged with reason fully restored.

ONTARIO.

BY A. M. ROSEBRUGH, M.D., CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

During the year the prison reform movement has been prosecuted with undiminished vigor. A large number of petitions from influential societies were forwarded to the Dominion government with reference to the proposed reformatory for young men, and an interview was held with the Minister of Justice with regard to the organization of said reformatory. An interview was also held with the Ontario government, asking that effect be given to the recommendations made by the Prison Reform Commission some four years ago. This deputation also asked for the appointment of a female inspector of jails, refuges, orphanages, etc.; also for the enlargement of the Central Prison, Toronto, so as to provide for a better classification of the inmates. The other reforms we are asking for from the Ontario government are: (1) the establishment of one or

more industrial reformatories, or colonies, for inebriates; (2) the reorganization and the establishment, upon good farm land, of the Boys' Reformatory and the Girls' Refuge.

With regard to the female inspectorship, it has been intimated recently by the Provincial Secretary that what the government will probably do in this matter will be to appoint a Provincial female agent under the "Child's Protection Act," who will also have some jurisdiction over females confined in jails, refuges, etc.

During the session of the Ontario Assembly held in March, this year, two acts were passed favorable to prison reform. The first is for the encouragement of industrial colonies for the unemployed; and the second is designed to facilitate the transference of delinquent girls from one institution to another, when considered desirable.

Work for neglected and dependent children is progressing satisfactorily, and quite an advance has been made in the work of placing the homeless children of the Province in families. As showing how this movement is affecting the institutional system, the population of the Industrial School for Boys has been reduced from 200 to 150; while the number in the Provincial Reformatory for Boys also shows a steady reduction, the number there at present being 147.

This movement is receiving the cordial indorsement of all classes, and is likely to be more extensively adopted in the future. There are 29 children's aid societies in the different cities and towns of the Province, acting under the direction of J. J. Kelso, the government superintendent of this work; and the number of children placed in families, and now recorded under the Children's Act, is over 200.

The Prisoners' Aid Association is also taking action with a view of introducing the cellular system of separate confinement in the Toronto jail. We also require a city workhouse for vagrants, which we hope to have in time.

With regard to the Dominion Reformatory for young men, I may add that a building is in course of erection for this purpose in the rural village of Alexandria. The government, we conceive, was ill-advised in placing the institution in this position. We are now asking that a second reformatory be established for Protestant young men, and that it be located near a city or large town, where the inmates may receive the moral and religious instruction of the local

Ministerial Association as well as that of the local Young Men's Christian Association.

In the Province of Ontario three new houses of industry, or poorhouses, have been opened during the year, one in the city of Hamilton and two in the counties. Twelve counties out of a total of forty have adopted the county poorhouse system, and other counties are moving in the same direction.

A Prisoners' Aid Association has been organized at Montreal, Province of Quebec.

MANITOBA.

BY DR. DAVID YOUNG, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

There is nothing of importance to comment upon this year,— no legislation either passed or contemplated in reference to charities and corrections.

III.

Social Settlements and the Labor Question.

WHAT THE SETTLEMENT WORK STANDS FOR.

BY JULIA C. LATHROP, HULL HOUSE, CHICAGO.

Before this great audience, composed of people of different views, different activities, representing the most distant parts of our country, and yet drawn together, animated by a common impulse, to consult about our common social welfare, I realize the importance and at the same time the difficulty of stating briefly, or at all, what the settlement stands for. Some of those who will speak at this meeting and those who will speak at the succeeding sessions of our committee will give what is far better than abstract explanation: they will state what settlements are doing in various fields.

We feel that we may safely depend upon interest in the social and industrial problems which will be touched upon, because this meeting and this discussion are not so much the suggestion of our committee as they are the request of the officers of the Conference and of the Grand Rapids Committee.

We are turning from those subjects which drew this Conference together, leaving the painful and almost disheartening questions of the care and prevention of abnormalities of mind or of body or of both, to follow the great normal trend of human progress and the efforts of those who are trying to aid the universal development at points where it is most halting.

Thirteen years ago, when Arnold Toynbee died, his friends sought how best to perpetuate his memory. This young Oxonian was a student of history and economics, but his studies did not withdraw his interest from the life outside academic halls. Rather did history and economics, interpreted by his passion for humanity, irresistibly thrust him out into the thick of life,— into that life whose unregarded misery in many a town besides London has finally made

the whole world shudder at the cheerful *laissez faire* of the old political economy. He lived for a time in East London, going there first as a charity organization visitor. He made a wide acquaintance among workingmen, and knew Whitechapel by actual contact. He lectured much in London and the great English manufacturing towns. A book of fragments, "The Industrial Revolution," is all that is left in print of his work. After his untimely death his friends determined to build a house in East London where university men might live, as has been said, "face to face with the actual conditions of crowded city life, study on the spot the evils and their remedies, and, if possible, ennoble the lives and improve the material conditions of the people." The opening of Toynbee Hall was a natural and intimate sequence of the labors of a whole circle of social students and reformers. Toynbee was the first so-called Settlement, and the forces which initiated it show that union of brotherly zeal for humanity and scientific ardor for truth which should characterize every settlement. Thus the settlement recognizes, as this Conference recognizes, that goodness of individual sentiment, unguided by science and exact knowledge, is belated. It is outgrown. The laboratory of the biologist, the researches of statisticians, do so much to alleviate the material ills of life that poor rule-of-thumb good will must cease her fumbling, and submit to be the willing handmaid of the new philanthropy and the new education.

Following Toynbee Hall since 1885 have come about seventy-five small groups of people, some perhaps far afield from the ideal suggested above, all independent of each other, and varying in almost every respect save that of residence in the district it is desired to influence. They have made their homes in the most arid and crowded parts of various English and American cities, to lend a hand toward improving their neighborhoods and toward gaining a little exact knowledge of social conditions. Forty-four settlements are in the United States, some details of whose scope and work will be found in the report which our committee has filed with the Secretary of the Conference. It will be shown there, as I have just suggested, that the movement is loose and unorganized, without any centre or head, that there is between some of the settlements little in common save the name and the fact of residence, so that what I may say cannot describe accurately all, but is only offered as, in my opinion, describing those which are representative and wisest.

Living in such a neighborhood as the University Settlement at Delancy Street, New York, or the College Settlement, St. Mary's Street, Philadelphia, residents usually establish kindergartens, clubs, and classes for children as a beginning, because these means of training children too young for public school and giving social pleasure to older children are usually lacking in such neighborhoods. As an acquaintance between the residents and the settlement and the neighborhood grows, and the character of its need becomes more evident, the sort of work undertaken depends upon the ability of the settlement to furnish from its residents or its friends people to undertake the work; for the settlement, having once become established in the good will of its neighborhood, is able to exercise its most gracious function and extend a double hospitality, so that people can know each other whose different lives within the same city, strangely enough, preclude personal acquaintance. I sometimes think that the usefulness of a settlement to its city is best measured by the number of non-residents whose personal help it can obtain.

A club of women from one of the Chicago settlements chances to be first on a printed list of Illinois Federated Women's Clubs; yet the suggestion of the possibility of such a club's existence in the east end of the Nineteenth Ward not only would have been thought absurd, but the club could not have existed without the effort and common meeting ground of the settlement. One settlement may develop an evening academy, with nominal fees, with great classes of young men and women, supplying a sort of instruction not given by the public school or any night school. Another may do most in more purely social lines, supplementing the crowded loneliness of the tenement house by all sorts of gayeties and merry makings. Another may put its chief strength into co-operation with city authorities,— upon urging better tenements to the public and to wealthy investors, better sanitary inspection, better public schools, pure water, proper sewerage, clean streets, small parks, an indefinite variety of things. Another settlement may do charity work, although, when the word "charity" is mentioned, the settlement usually shivers as though its mantle were a wet blanket; but really what a travesty upon neighborliness it would be to open your door to a neighbor hungry for learning and close it to a neighbor hungry for bread! In most settlements some or all of the residents are people who have had the best that our schools and universities can give.

They are trained to look for causes. Eager as they are to meet the immediate wants of a meagre life, they are not satisfied with that, and are earnest to find the roots of the matter,— to learn the conditions which have made that meagreness. They are inevitably drawn to try to learn the conditions of industrial life, upon which the conditions of social life so largely hinge. They become acquainted so far as they can with those who from the standpoint of the workingman are giving the same problems the intensest thought. Necessarily, they welcome opportunity for the discussion of those problems from every point of view. The settlement stands for a free platform. It offers its best hospitality to every man's honest thought.

Lecky has pointed out in a little essay on the "Political Value of History" that there was a time when the best patriotism, all the most heroic self-sacrifice, was thrown into the defence of such causes as the free expression of religious beliefs, a free press, a free platform, and an independent jury box, that these are now secure, and that a kind of language which at one period of history implied the noblest heroism is now the idlest and cheapest of clap-trap, that men are called upon to consider new issues in each generation. If this be true, then the settlement asks earnestly, What are the crucial questions of this day? Nor does it hesitate to answer that on the material side they are the industrial and economic questions upon which social questions so largely hinge. On the moral side it is the question of an enlargement of our notion of personal responsibility, a quickening of the sense of social interdependence. If individual good will is outdated because it is unscientific, it is again outworn because its scope is inadequate.

At the time of the American Revolution there were men who had a clear and beautiful ideal of social democracy, and there can be no doubt that in the simpler conditions of that day it seemed to be secured by the personal and political freedom which they had gained. Does not, however, the complexity of life in which each household is changed from a self-sustained producer to a purchaser, with all the ramifying interchanges so familiar to us, so absolutely unknown to them, compel a readjustment, a new understanding, of our social interdependence? May not our morality be too small for our relationships? Everything grows great. Interests interlace. Tremendous physical forces, set at work, have compelled tremendous combinations of money and men. Greatness begets greatness; and great

combinations of wealth will be met by great combinations of men. The cost of misunderstanding between these great combinations has become so alarming and so well understood that we see already more and more exemplified between them that armed peace which exists between European powers. But is this enough? War is better than piracy, and an armed peace is better than war; but does it satisfy the ethical sense of civilization that these great interests should be left merely resting upon their defences?

Finally and briefly, then, I would venture to say that, considered upon American soil, the settlement may be regarded as a humble but sincere effort toward a realization of that ideal of social democracy in whose image this country was founded, but adapted and translated into the life of to-day.

ENGLISH AND SCOTCH SETTLEMENTS.

BY DR. W. CALDWELL.

The English and Scottish settlements have now become an institution of the country. By showing their ability to cope with a certain environment they have established their right to exist. They are no longer looked upon under the light of mere curiosity or criticism. People have thrown away the spectacles of indifferentism or of ignorance, and now look upon social settlements with complacency, with both eyes open, and in the broad daylight of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the whole community is vitally interested in them; and both sober people and sanguine people find in social settlements something stable, useful, common, and unique.

The prominent features of the British settlements can best be recognized by thinking of a few important facts concerning their history and growth and tendency. They have all, in the first place, emanated directly or indirectly from the universities. The first man that we know of to take lodgings in Whitechapel was Edward Denison, an Oxford man, in 1867. He went to live near the London Hospital. He gained much knowledge of social conditions, and thereby exercised much influence on public opinion. His example

was followed by other Oxford men; and in 1874 it was a regular custom for some Oxford undergraduates to spend part of their vacation in Whitechapel. Arnold Toynbee was among these. After some years graduates began to go to Whitechapel, singly and in twos and threes. College men began to get dissatisfied with the old method of the college mission, the mere working up of a "district" into a "parish" through the usual machinery of district visiting, mothers' clubs, children's meetings, and religious services. The defects of the new method of isolated and disjointed efforts also became apparent. It was felt that only organized social effort could have any influence upon the sea of humanity in our large cities.

In response to an appeal from St. John's College, Oxford, Mr. Barnett, of St. Jude's Parish, read a paper in that college, setting out a proposed social scheme for college men in some detail. That paper was published in the *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1884. It proposed that university men who undertook to settle in centres of industry should be organized into a community. They were to carry with them the habits and customs of culture, and by settling in congested districts to devote themselves to the work of common self-improvement and common elevation. This is a most important point in settlement work. The down-trodden are not lifted up by people who seek to live down to their level, but by those who make them live up to the level of a relatively higher life. Well, these men were to have the common method of making friends among their neighbors,— a method which one learns in the universities better than any other place,— and the common object of improving social conditions and adding to the interest of life by getting different classes of society to know each other. The residents of settlements get introduced to friends in the slums of crowded districts, and expect these friends to call upon them in the ordinary way, and meet with them for common social and educational and moral and political purposes. Both parties give and receive invitations to private and general functions or occasions, to clubs, entertainments, walking parties, summer excursions, of from a few days to a month, say, to places in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, to events like the Paris Exposition or the Social and Labor Conferences of European cities. The settler becomes a resident, a voter in the district, a member of Boards,— election boards, school boards, charity boards, conciliation boards, insurance boards, provident soci-

eties, poor-law boards, co-operative industrial societies, municipal boards, temperance societies, churches, and so on. Like any resident, he takes pride in the development of beauty and prosperity and sanitary reform and culture and moral tone in his surroundings. The Edinburgh College Settlement is now famous all over Great Britain and Europe for its remarkable efforts in making over and beautifying several of the oldest courts in the oldest part of the ancient city of Edinburgh.

To the settlement resident the settlement suggests his college or his club with its courts and porches and halls and corridors and large fireplaces and oak dining-rooms and comfortable corners and smoking-rooms and studies and laboratories and committee-rooms, and artistic studies and workshops with pictures and foils and oars and books and curiosities and pianos, and bedrooms with trellised windows and all the interior facilities and belongings which make the average civilized man feel decently comfortable. As in a club, all sorts of meats and drinks can be had at all hours; but, as in a college, men all try to meet each other formally and informally at table, dining together punctually at 6.30 in the evening, and breakfasting some time between 7 and 9.30, and lunching some time between 12.30 and 2. By living together in the way suggested by these surroundings, these men express their willingness to live the same life of culture and refinement and noble purpose in Whitechapel that they would in Balliol College, Oxford, or Trinity or King's, Cambridge. Toynbee is filled with residents, chiefly Oxford and Cambridge graduates. Each man sets himself to do his work as a citizen, following his calling in the daytime, that of a government clerk, medical student, business man, or perhaps choosing a calling that involves residence in the neighborhood, a school inspector, a common school teacher, a lawyer, a banker, a clergyman, lecturer, labor leader, or man of leisure and general philanthropist. Each man has much to learn and much to teach. No rules limit his action as an individual: no one religious or political policy shapes his life as a citizen.

The club-rooms of a settlement are open to all reputable persons and clubs and agencies for lectures, socials, dances, trades-union meetings, parliamentary meetings, musicals, receptions, and so on. The educational side is secondary to the social side. Strange to say, the liberal studies — the experience of Hull House in Chicago is

to the same effect — are preferred to the bread-winning studies, although in every settlement some resident is always able and willing to help any boy or girl to secure training for any kind of technical employment or career,— that of pharmacy, nursing, domestic service, handicraft, or even entrance to the London University. Natural history societies, antiquarian societies, and Elizabethan societies are most popular. Travellers' clubs have been started, clubs whose members go off for the summer to see all sorts of places and all sorts of people and foreign countries. These travelling clubs intensify the interest of citizens in their own country, or the interest of intelligent workingmen in the conditions of the life of their brother workingman at home and abroad.

Workingmen's clubs, model dwelling-houses, workingmen's lodging-houses, lodging-houses for lads and working-girls, for sailors and the unsuccessful, are springing up all over London. There are the germs of two real colleges across the tennis court from Toynbee Hall itself, Wadham House and Balliol House. These two houses are filled up with lads who are working and studying and trying to improve themselves at the same time. Some day, probably, they will be ready for affiliation with the London University. But, even if this is attained, these places will always retain their college and social character. You can easily see from these remarks that an institution like Toynbee Hall was not made at one moment of time. It has grown. It is the centre, the brain and the heart, of a social organism, with all sorts of schemes and agencies and subordinate organisms round about it.

Toynbee Hall is the first settlement of any importance in Great Britain. It is still the best, the freest, the most real, the broadest, and the deepest of the social settlements. There are one hundred things about it which render it peculiarly apt to succeed with the London working and lower classes, the struggling and the poor. Its tone is the highest and yet at the same time the most truly democratic of all the settlements. It is obviously the child of the universities, and the other settlements at least reflect the Toynbee or the university spirit. Browning Hall, the younger settlement, makes an appeal to the better classes to come and live among the poor; Oxford House is run by university men who are High Churchmen; Mansfield House, in Canning Town, near the docks, is a settlement of the Congregationalists, but it is managed in the Toynbee spirit,

the Congregationalists having lately moved their theological seminary to Oxford; Bermondsey House is an admirable institution, worked by Methodist young men who have been at the universities; Newman House represents the Roman Catholics; University Hall is the outcome of "Robert Elsmere." In Edinburgh there is University Hall, which is, perhaps, the most beautiful and most historically interesting settlement in Great Britain; and in Edinburgh and Glasgow and other towns there are social settlements run by theological students of the different churches. There are agencies at work in Liverpool and Manchester and other British towns in the settlement spirit. All scientific reformers and apostles of light and moral reformers feel that truth and beauty of goodness have to be lived out among the people, to be understood.

Every one of these settlements has its measure of success. The aim of each one is to elevate the life in the district in which it has placed itself by making men and women meet together in devotion to the common good. There may be differences in the maxims adopted by the different settlements, and differences, too, in their methods and ulterior aims; but, fortunately, few of the settlements are fully conscious of their aim. They have gone there to learn to live and let live. This is another essential point in the understanding of what social settlements are, and I wish to emphasize it somewhat. No wise settlement has any cut-and-dried method of going to work. They have all gone there in obedience to a feeling that we must adapt ourselves to social evolution, and they are all willing to adopt whatever principles shall seem best to cope with the social evolution of the future. Each social settlement is a kind of social and moral intellectual *clearing house*, an *exchange*, an agency where you can find and feel the social equivalent of any doctrine, new or old, of any practical or theoretical principle, new or old. The social settlement is, by common confession, at least the best place for observing phenomena incident to the congestion in our large cities. It is the best place to watch and practise the effects of the meeting of different classes of society and different kinds of people with one another.

The greatest obstacle that all settlement workers in Great Britain — and this is even more true in this country — have to fight is what Marx called the *verdammte Bedürfnisslosigkeit*, the damnable absence of want or desire, the indifference, of the laboring and dependent

classes as to their own elevation. The most unique work of a settlement worker is to infuse a desire for better things, for the true and the beautiful and the good, into the lives of people who have little or no such desire. It aims at making all the inhabitants of a district sharers and workers in the common life.

By far the most successful things therefore in settlements are things run on the club plan, where people become, unconsciously to themselves at first, sharers in a social or intellectual or political or moral enterprise, and where the resultant pleasure heightens the sense of activity which constitutes life. Workingmen's clubs, where old "public houses" (saloons) are taken over *en bloc*, with all their appurtenances of comfort and *abandon*, the bar, the billiard-room, the sanded floor, the deal tables, are made over by the addition of bedrooms and libraries and fireplaces and annexed lodging-houses, and thus become the focal hearth of a new life, are eminently successful. And so are cheap lodging-houses, and popular Sunday afternoons, and political clubs, and smoking talks, and university extension lectures, ambulance lectures, musical clubs, cricket clubs, athletic associations, summer schools, economic clubs, "teetotums" (temperance stores and club-house, all in one), and so on. It is true that the settlements have both indirectly and directly helped the churches, the police, the peoples' banks, infirmaries, hospitals, colleges, schools, charity boards, poor-law guardians, and so on. The best conception of the social settlement is simply that of a clearing house for facilitating the action and interaction of all agencies, intellectual, moral, religious, national, civil, for elevating the common life. It pays all kinds of agencies as it pays all kinds of men and women to get in touch with a social settlement.

We must think very definitely of a few of the advantages resulting from the fact that British social settlements have come ultimately from the universities. It means, as we have seen, in the first place, that they are founded upon ideas, upon knowledge, and, second, that they are founded upon personalities,— upon the personalities of some of the finest kind of men that are produced in Great Britain. When I say that the British settlements are founded upon ideas, I do not wish to seem to contradict the idea of absence of definite aim and method to which I referred a moment ago. I simply mean that they are founded upon a common body of knowledge, upon a collective wisdom made up of the separate pieces of special knowledge

possessed by individual workers in the settlement. If a settlement consists of educated men and women, it at least knows what has been done in the past for the uplifting of humanity, and why much that has been done in the past does not seem to be of much value at the present. These people, in short, know the changes which show themselves in the conditions of human effort at reform. And, as to the element of personality, I may point out that about the British universities are always to be found men who are more willing to enter upon the work of the education and elevation of humanity (and thereby of themselves) than upon any other kind of work. Among the graduates of British universities there are men who have become so accustomed to the contemplation of the ideal, and to the thought of working for the ideal in life, that any work other than this would seem to them flat and stale and unprofitable. The settlement offers to them at once the kind of ideal association which has been to them the whole charm of university life ; and they find they can still go on making friends in life upon ideal considerations as they have been accustomed to do at the university, and still continue to work for that cosmopolitan society, the development of humanity, of which all science and all art and all history speak.

And, indeed, the modern social settlement is the ideal social club, —a place where one meets people upon the purely human ground as such. All other clubs are but feeble and fatuous affairs compared with the club of common brotherhood represented by a settlement. Nowhere does one hear such interesting conversation as in the Toynbee drawing-room at afternoon tea, and in the same place before the fire after dinner over coffee and pipes. The men who meet there are all citizens of the world, in the best sense of the word. They are men who have been everywhere and seen everything, and who care for nothing so much in the world as social peace and social progress and social prosperity. Thither come members of Parliament and labor leaders, and hard-worked clergymen and school board teachers, and charity workers and medical men, and foreign visitors, in pursuit of the common end of true knowledge and true practice in regard to social reform. By a kind of evolution that goes on among settlement workers themselves the workers who stay in a settlement come to be really all picked men and women, the workers always selecting such additions to their numbers as seem best adapted, in the eyes of all, for the unique work of the settlement. Two or three

things seem to warrant the hope that we may expect relations of co-operation between the different social workers of different countries, — the personal friendships that exist between British and American settlement workers, the active efforts British universities are making to meet the intellectual and social wants of American students, and the ardent enthusiasm which unites the work of University Hall, Edinburgh, to the schools of Paris and to the representatives of the new idealistic movement in France.

THE SETTLEMENT AND EDUCATION.

BY JACOB J. ABT, MAXWELL STREET SETTLEMENT, CHICAGO.

In speaking of some of the educational opportunities which a settlement procures for its neighborhood, I shall, I trust, be pardoned for confining myself mainly to the experiences of the Maxwell Street Settlement, both because the time allotted me will not permit of an extended account of those of other settlements, and because I am, naturally, somewhat more familiar with the work which we have done than with that of others. Besides, our work is typical of that of the settlements generally, and suggestive of certain possibilities of settlement work along educational lines.

There is in our ward, which covers an area of about a half mile square, only one public night-school. The population of this ward is almost exclusively composed of Russian Jews, employed as pedlers, tailors, cloak or cigar makers, and to some extent as clerks in the down-town department stores. The age of many of the working men and women of our neighborhood who were desirous of acquiring some knowledge of the elementary English branches, together with the generally overcrowded condition of the classes at the night-school, first brought our neighbors to us; and the name by which the settlement was originally known was "The New Free Night-school." Classes were offered in elementary English reading, spelling, and writing. A class was also conducted in German; and in this, which was composed of those who had a very limited knowledge of English, but who could read German, short German sentences were

translated into English and English sentences into German. In this way it was attempted to use their knowledge of German as a medium through which they might learn English. Many of those who attended our classes had for a time been enrolled in those of the public night-schools, but complained that, on account of the size of the classes there, they were benefited little. We endeavored to restrict the number of each class and succeeded in limiting it to between fifteen and twenty. This resulted in an intimate social relation between the students and the leader of the class, the latter always assuming the attitude of a friendly fellow-student. He was not only the teacher of the pupils whom he met in the class-room, but also, in a general way, director of their educational activity.

Those who came to us in the first instance as to a school were soon drawn to us as visitors at a house which was attractive and homelike. Coming from their own small and stuffy rooms, in which they lived, daily, a humdrum routine life, without change or prospect of improvement, to the settlement with its spacious rooms, well and cleanly kept, and with its walls adorned with pictures, they found there a place where they might congregate, and learn something of the elements of the language of their adopted country under pleasant surroundings and in an agreeable form. Because of the limited capacity of our house and our desire to restrict the size of the classes, we have not been able to accommodate all of those who have sought education in elementary English. Independent educational clubs have therefore been organized. An account of one of these, the United American Educational Club, will indicate what the method of proceeding is.

This club consists of fifty young men, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-five years. They are all members of the Cigar Makers' Union, and are thrown into daily contact with one another in different shops. Having been refused admission into the settlement classes, they organized themselves, under the direction of one of the residents, rented and fitted up their own rooms in a neighboring house, the expense of whose maintenance they bore themselves. The club is divided into three classes, each of which meets three times a week, under the leadership of one of the residents or one of the non-resident co-workers. A fine spirit of independence is displayed by the members of this club, and the fact that they are paying for their own education seems to have added zest to an already

well-developed desire for the acquisition of knowledge. The method pursued in these primary classes varies with the needs of the students and as the judgment of the leader dictates. In some of the classes the ordinary school readers are used; and, after three-quarters of an hour devoted to reading and spelling lessons, some story is read to the class by the leader, or one of the students relates an anecdote taken from the experience of his father in the distant land of his birth.

One of our co-workers has organized a class in reading newspaper English, using as his text-book current issues of an evening daily. The old-time spell-down, with its attendant good-natured rivalry and incidental amusement, has not infrequently been employed. Every attempt to institutionalize the work has been studiously avoided. It is natural that minds wearied by the harsh task which the day's struggle imposes upon them should be ill-fitted to receive even the most elementary education, if offered in a heavy form. The settlement, therefore, endeavors to permit its visitors to imbibe their learning so far as possible socially. The students and leaders meet most informally, both in the primary and secondary classes. Secondary classes are offered to those who have lived for some time in America, and have already acquired a fair knowledge of the elementary English branches. Talks on art and architecture by one of the residents have been supplemented by frequent Saturday afternoon excursions to the Chicago Art Institute and to the city parks. During the year twice, after afternoons spent at Lincoln Park, the class has met at the home of the parents of this resident, who live near by, and has there spent the early evening socially before returning to the settlement neighborhood.

The literature classes are most popular. One which during the year has read Irving's "Sketch Book" has gone in a body to see Joseph Jefferson in "Rip Van Winkle." Another has attended a number of the performances of Shakspere's plays. The accumulated fees paid by the students in these classes have been used for the purchase of tickets in the gallery of the theatre. The leader of the class in each case has accompanied its members to the theatre, and the first meeting subsequent to the theatre evening has been devoted to an interesting and profitable discussion of the play and the general interpretation of the work which has been read. Classes are also conducted in American history, civil government, French,

algebra, and geometry. In response to a demand for some work which would be of practical value in the daily life of the applicants, courses have been organized in book-keeping and in commercial practices. In the latter, some of the fundamental laws of commerce, the function of notes, drafts, and the like, have been explained; and not a little has been incidentally suggested regarding business ethics.

One of our most ardent lady co-workers has organized "The Girls' Home Culture Club." This consists of about twenty working girls, varying in age from seventeen to twenty-two, who meet sometimes at the settlement and sometimes at their own homes. Short, informal talks are given by the leader and some of the residents on the choice of books, and the evening is spent in reading selections from the best English novels. It has been found an advantage to hold meetings at the homes of the members of the club, both because each takes a certain pride in making the meeting-room bright and cheerful for the reception of her visitors on meeting nights, in which she receives the hearty co-operation of her parents, and because the settlement, in this way, maintains its position as a neighborhood home, occupied by those who have had certain advantages of education and refinement which they are desirous of sharing with those to whom they have been denied.

The same co-worker has recently organized a club of the older and married women of the neighborhood. In its membership are enrolled the wives of a number of the neighborhood physicians and of the more prosperous merchants, as well as four or five of the young women who are occasional workers at the settlement and who live on the other side of the town. This club, which numbers now about fifty, was originally organized, as its name, "The Woman's Aid," indicates, for philanthropic purposes. Its members co-operated with the United Hebrew Charity Association, and independently investigated and assisted worthy applicants for relief. A number of pleasant literary features have been incidentally introduced into the work of the club by its leader; and it has given during the past winter, the first of its organization, two very successful literary and musical entertainments, which were participated in both by members of the club and by non-members not residing in the neighborhood. At both of these entertainments healthful talks were given, one by a prominent physician, one of the most

lovable gentlemen it has ever been our pleasure to meet, on books; another on the "Woman Question," by one who not only had a thorough knowledge of the question, but also an appreciation of its application to those whom she was addressing. Both of these entertainments, which were given in a hall near the settlement house, were attended by over three hundred of the adults of the neighborhood.

Through the influence of the leader of "The Woman's Aid" a number of its members have been introduced to the Chicago branch of the National Council of Jewish Women, and have become members thereof. In addition to these classes and clubs the settlement maintains a reading-room, in which the current magazines are kept on file, and a small circulating library. It has acquainted its visitors with the sub-station of the City Library situated a few blocks from the settlement, one of the residents explaining the use of the Finding List, and offering suggestions as to suitable books. We have not infrequently heard it said, "I should like to take books from the Public Library, but I do not know how to use the catalogue." Sometimes, too, in cases where the applicants were unacquainted with any one whose responsibility was known at the library, when a prolonged acquaintance warranted, one of the residents has indorsed the certificate which the library officials require as a guarantee for the observation of their rules on the part of the cardholder.

The friendly attitude which the settlement maintains toward its neighbors acquaints the residents with their aspirations and hopes for self-improvement and advancement. Through the intimate acquaintance here established, and that which we had with educators throughout the city, we have been instrumental in placing two of our visitors as internes in hospitals, one in the City Detention Hospital, and one in the Illinois Eastern Hospital for the Insane. But for the opportune interference of the settlement, the medical education of both of these young men would have been temporarily interrupted, if, indeed, its entire abandonment had not been necessary.

An arrangement has also been made by which another of our visitors is able to pursue a course at the Chicago Art Institute. This young man attends the classes of the institute two days of each week, employing the remainder of his time in peddling for a living.

In another instance, information and assistance were obtained at the settlement, through which the civil service examination was taken which is required of applicants for positions in the Chicago Public Library. During the coming fall we hope to be able to arrange for a course of studies at the Chicago University on behalf of one of our settlement visitors. The need in these cases has been opportunity and direction, not capacity. Besides the work mentioned above, for the working men and women of the neighborhood, classes and clubs are conducted during the day for children. These are attended by the school children of the neighborhood both on Saturday and during the week after school hours. The work done by them is in the nature of regular kindergarten work.

Excursions to the suburban homes of some of our friends, afternoons spent at the Field Museum, and occasional attendance at the Thomas Concerts have been a part of the program for children's work. A children's chorus of thirty voices has been organized under the leadership of one of our co-workers, modelled after the larger chorus conducted by Professor Tomlins at Hull House. Series of Sunday afternoon concerts have been given at the settlement since its inception, and have been well attended. We have found the musical people of the city very responsive to our requests for assistance in this direction. Courses of lectures on literary and industrial questions have also been conducted, and a lively interest manifested in them by our neighbors.

This brief outline may indicate in a general way the educational function of a settlement. The opportunities offered by Hull House of Chicago in securing for its neighborhood the use of Rockford College, and placing at the disposal of from one-third to one-half of the students an attractive spot for the pursuit of studies during the summer; in giving at Butler Gallery semi-annual exhibits of carefully selected pictures; in the establishment of its beautiful children's house, which has drawn to it the Chicago school for kindergartners; and in influencing the board of education for the establishment of better primary school facilities,— mark some of the broad educational influences which residence among the poor exerts. The social settlement is in its very nature in close touch with the educational needs and requirements of its neighborhood. It attempts to cross over the vast chasm which yawns between plenty and want. It places its estimate upon the poor from within, and not from with-

out. It finds those who have not, not differently constituted from those who have. It finds the same yearning and desires in both. It discovers a slumbering appreciation of those things which make our lives worth living, that needs but the gentle touch of a tactful friendship to waken it into wholesome ambition which leads upward and onward to the highest and best. By its kindly and neighborly sympathy in the affairs of its visitors' daily life it brings new elements into the lives of the poor, and opens up a field of opportunities unknown before, or, if known, seen only as things of which they were not, and could not, become a part.

THE SETTLEMENT AND ORGANIZED CHARITY.

BY MARY E. M'DOWELL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO SETTLEMENT.

As we come to the discussion of this question, we are forced to ask ourselves, What is charity? And we find it difficult to define; for we are conscious that we ourselves are working out a new definition, one that will be in a sense a working ideal. The word "charity" has been undergoing a change at the hands of science; but now philanthropy steps in, and together they revise and revitalize the word. It has a higher and a broader meaning than it had a few years ago, and is accepted by a larger body of people. In the process, science is becoming more sympathetic, while philanthropy, or the sympathetic side of charity, is growing more scientific; and working together, science and sympathy, we see the professional, mechanical philanthropist being transformed along with the sentimental almsgiver into the type called the Friendly Visitor,— a type that is also in the process of making, and helping perhaps more toward a nobler translation of the word "charity" than any other of the many forces working on its revision.

Washington Gladden says: "This, then, is the test of our charity. Does it recognize between giver and receiver the highest bond, the bond of spiritual brotherhood; and does it seek to make the gift a vehicle for the communication of the divine life from the one to the

other? The charity that stuffs the cupboard and lets the character starve, the charity that prostrates the receiver before the giver, and makes the one a stepping-stone on which the other mounts to beatitudes, is twice cursed: it curseth him that gives and him that takes."

This ideal definition is the one by which charity organization, the friendly visitor and the settlement workers, are to be tested. Does the charity organization of our city offer this friendship which Gladden calls "the blessed friendship" which Christ had, which was powerful to change a life? If it does offer this, then the settlement may co-operate with it. But, if the organization is nothing but a relief society, useful as it may be in times of emergency, it is not in harmony with the settlement idea, and cannot naturally hold an intimate relation to the settlement, yet in time of a neighbor's need must be used until a better method of a broader organization appears. If an organization of a society which will associate together every helpful influence in the city, and will bring to bear upon the problems of the poor both science and sympathy, then I should say the duty of the settlement is plainly to co-operate in every way, and to further the organization as much as possible.

The residents of a settlement, because of their constant and close touch with the needy, seeing them in their ups and downs, are able to give to the scientific charity worker inside knowledge and keep a fresh, vital flow of life into the veins of the organization, and thus prevent fossilization, that not impossible disease which threatens all well-organized efforts.

The settlement, standing as it does for the all-sided life of its neighborhood, cannot consistently ignore the side which calls so helplessly for aid in a time of need; and how to supply this physical call in a way that will leave the neighbor on a higher spiritual plane is, we believe, the problem both of the settlement and the organized charity. The settlement resident in his or her office of neighbor has a right to help in time of need, and because of this right creates a social atmosphere which is found to be of great value to the scientific worker. The settlement is necessarily a work going on from within out, while the charity organization, with its voluntary friendly visitors and its paid agents, who must keep an exact record of all cases, is the force from without coming into the neighborhood. They differ in their method, yet complement one another, and should do for a neighborhood together what neither alone can do completely.

The charitable effort of the past has moved along two lines, — the one sympathetic, the other mechanical,— starting far apart and coming closer and closer together. It is our hope that these two streams of good will toward the needy may unite, and make for a science of charity that will indeed be scientific; for all of us agree, I am sure, that one without the other is like faith without works or works without faith,— both lifeless.

The mechanical side in the past has been highly developed and has long had its trained experts, while the side of sentiment has been left free to run its hysterical course. Francis Peabody says: "Science without sentiment is like an engine without steam,— beautifully adjusted it may be in all its parts, but practically a lifeless structure. Sentiment without science is like steam which is unapplied to its proper work, unchecked in its expansion."

The settlement in its mediating relationship to all sides of social life becomes at this point a kind of station where this engine takes water or fires up. It is a common meeting-place for the voluntary visitor and the charity organization agent. Here they may find the inside knowledge of facts which are more often encouraging than discouraging because of the every-day neighboring together. Mr. Smith's drunk is known at the settlement to be one that comes at long periods, while to the agent coming in from outside it may indicate a usual condition. The settlement for the same reason is a conference station for the friendly visitor, brought into the neighborhood by the organized charity or by the settlement itself.

I do not want to be understood as placing the settlement residents in the place of leaders or teachers to either charity society agents or friendly visitors. But I do believe that those who live day and night, summer and winter, in a neighborhood, are able to judge of the character and needs of the poor of that neighborhood; and, if in this experience of the settlement residents there is anything of value, it should be at the disposal of any one who shows an honest desire to solve the problems of the poor.

Every honest charity organization has confessed its great need of getting at the point of view of the poor. To know how the recipient of alms looks upon the society that gives has been a question the answer to which would help much to solve one side of the problem of relief-giving. Here, again, the settlement is able to offer assistance to the scientific inquirer.

To ascertain the mind of the settlements in this matter, a letter with the following questions was sent to the settlements in the United States: —

1. Does your settlement co-operate in any way with the organized charities of your city?
2. Does your settlement make use of the system of "friendly visitors" in its philanthropic work?
3. Do you keep supplies at the settlement for distribution?
4. If so, are they distributed by a resident?
5. Are there any active officials of charity organizations among the residents?

Sixteen settlements responded. Fifteen co-operate with the organized charities of their cities. Three use friendly visitors from without; that is, bring into the settlement neighborhood friends that will take a family in need, and help with a practical friendship that makes for character, both for the giver and the recipient. Wherever the friendly visitor has caught the idea of sharing being more blessed than giving, and that the giving of pleasure, of beauty, of education, is even more essential than food and clothes,— with such friendly visitors, we have found that pauperization is as unlikely to follow their gifts as it is to follow the gifts of any good friend.

In a neighborhood where three hundred families during the past winter have required outside assistance the settlement with its few resident workers found themselves as neighbors unable to cope with the question of relief. Neither the settlement nor the charity organization with which it affiliates is a relief society, but seeks to bring all helpful agencies to bear upon the relieving of the needy neighbors. By this joint effort there has been brought into the neighborhood a corps of willing and intelligent workers who have supplied to the settlement that much-needed touch with life outside of the neighborhood, and who have not hesitated to criticise the settlement from their point of view. This we consider quite as necessary a relationship as any the settlement bears to its own neighborhood, for we believe that a neighborhood can no more live to itself than can an individual. On the remaining questions it is found that five of the sixteen settlements keep a small store of supplies on hand for emergency cases, and an old-clothes closet for use of their neighbors. One settlement has a fund used for pensioning

dependent old men and women who would otherwise be compelled to go to the poorhouse. Supplies, when thus kept, are usually distributed by residents. Active charity organization officials are found in more than half of the settlements. In several cities residents are members of the charity organization conferences.

We have seen how the settlement, the charity organization, and the friendly visitor, working together, are giving to charity a meaning which is more intelligent, more sympathetic, and more effective, each bringing its peculiar contribution to this perplexing problem. The settlement with its local knowledge growing out of its close, constant personal contact, the friendly visitor enlarging the life of the neighborhood by bringing a continuous vitalizing force from the better favored neighborhoods, the charity organization society, with its trained officials and recorded knowledge, bringing its technical skill to bear upon the most difficult problems, foretell a better day for our needy neighbors, when we shall no longer be compelled to offer alms to any able-bodied American citizen.

In conclusion, we cannot do better than to let one speak who has long united the three offices of settlement resident, friendly visitor, and charity organization official. Says Canon Barnett:—

"The doing for the poor which ends in a law or institution, the doing which ends in a committee and a secretary, the doing which is done through agents, and at a distance from the poor, is deadly. All help must be co-operation: the helper and the helped must be partners, and over the thing done must be the grasped hand. Doing which helps is with the people, among friends, not for the people, among strangers."

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS.*

BY C. S. LOCH, LONDON, ENGLAND.

Mr. Loch was asked to say a few words on Miss McDowell's paper. After referring generally to settlements in London, he alluded particularly to the work of the women's university settlement there. Besides clubs for girls and other similar work, the settlement was a centre for co-operation of the best kind with local bodies. Members as school managers, for instance, obtained a most accurate knowledge of the children, their attendance at school, and their real wants. They were able to exert a constant personal influence in a district where in ordinary circumstances the school management would be carried out in only a perfunctory manner by men who had little leisure, and usually nothing but a very slight knowledge of the school and its pupils during school hours, who might be managers of the school, but were not in point of fact familiar with it and its details. They could discriminate as the teachers could not; and they could assist, if assistance were wanted, in such a way as would strengthen family obligations, and not weaken them, as was done by widely distributed dinner and meat giving charities. The invalid children within the area of the group of schools were taught at home; and, when hospital advice was wanted, there was some one at hand to go to the hospital with the mother, and thus learn what was amiss, and insure that the doctor's instructions were attended to. This was but one instance of the use of the settlement. It had been also very useful as a centre for lectures to workers, simple instructive lectures, telling people what they ought to know, but usually did not know, as practical administration, economics, and sanitary matters. It must be remembered that persons who desired to undertake charitable work had to be educated. For this purpose there was no machinery at hand. General lectures, useful as they might be, did not suffice. Between the charity organization society and the settlement there was good co-operation. Members of the settlement helped the local charities of the society greatly; while, on the other hand, residents, who were likely to undertake charitable work — possibly as the chief work of their lives — were trained at district chari-

* Abstract of address at Meeting Section IX.

ties sometimes for long periods. But all people could not be settlers, and this consideration gave rise to one or two thoughts. A settlement implied simply residence in a district where one would not otherwise reside. The dwelling there, the mere being there, was something in itself. One dwelt there, properly speaking, with a most simple object,— to stay and fulfil a resident's duties in the district. Thus a settlement that people did not know to be a settlement, that was merely a residence, seemed to fulfil the required conditions most nearly. It provided the element of local responsibility and nearness without assuming the character of a fraternity or an institution.

On the other hand, wherever people lived, they ought to be "settled"; that is, they ought there, too, to have the sense of local responsibility. In a suburban well-to-do population this was most necessary. There was no reason why there should seem to be no alternative between living in a settlement and taking no active interest in local matters. If the fringe of well-to-do people that skirted parts of most towns were to work inward from the circumference, while they lived at home, much degradation would be prevented, and that which is in truth the best settlement spirit would have a yet wider influence.

And, further, probably in connection with the settlements themselves, there would grow up bands of trained workers, not residents in the settlements, but outside helpers. This was the re-enforcement that settlements wanted. Thus large settlements might be avoided; and the settlement might be a residence, a home, a quiet place with home duties, not a kind of college *in partibus pauperum*.

Then as to lectures and meetings. There was an audience that all would desire to bring together, but there was also another audience that was often headed by the mere prattlers and praters of the local community. It was a question whether men of this kind wanted further opportunities than were already forthcoming for the exercise of their eloquence. They had not learned much, and were careless about learning. They were content to coin their ignorance into phrases. They were generally dominated by some particular theory in its crude state, and gave vent to their feelings in regard to it, whatever the subject of the discussion might be. But for those who would acquire self-discipline, who would gain that quality so often lacking,— of an intellectual perspective in regard to the growth and outcome of social change,— too much could hardly be done. Yet probably more could be done in their case by

personal conversation, out of which and with which came friendship and mutual good will and understanding. This seemed one use of the settler, wherever he or she might be.

And of the use of the "settlement" for laboratory work, a phrase now so often used, a word might be said. Was not this conception entirely wrong? We understood one another by sympathy. Observation without sympathy was to look through a microscope with a blind eye. But a "laboratory method" implied a lack of sympathy. It was treating living human characters and qualities as if they were only material for experiment. The characters and qualities would disappear in the process. A kind of self-consciousness — alike injurious to laborator and subject — would be bred in each, leading to the utmost confusion in the result. Those who had worked well and successfully in the past had not been equipped with any large stock of theory at the outset. They had sympathy, and that quality which might perhaps be called knowledge in its sympathetic form,— sagacity. And, discerning the strength and weakness of human character, they had endeavored with great firmness and pertinacity to strengthen all the elements of strength with a minimum of artificial organization, but usually with considerable practical business power. Indeed, they had qualities which are now sometimes discounted with a view to pleasing the sentiment of an audience. It is often said that charity, by means of settlements and otherwise, will be less official. That is or should be true. And to be official in one sense is bad. But, if it is meant that charity should not be careful and business-like and very conscientious in the discharge of its responsibilities, it is misleading, and most misleading probably to those who most need to learn the lesson of responsibility and regularity. Charity is so often unjust because it lacks these qualities that we should look to settlements and settlers, wherever they may be, to add these qualities to it. Between settlements engaged in the careful, practical work of what may be called the civilization of the class, or classes, in the community that seem to have lost or to be likely to lose their sense of the purposes and duties of life and charity organization there should be close affinity and much mutual help. Similar views formed a natural alliance between the two, and one could not but wish it good-speed.

CIVIC EFFORTS OF SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS.

BY KATHARINE BEMENT DAVIS.

Just what are settlements believing and feeling and doing in civic matters? Is it any of their business who holds office in our cities and how faithfully these officers fulfil their trusts, whether the ordinances are for the good of the city at large, and whether or not they are faithfully and impartially executed? Just as surely as a settlement stands for a higher social, industrial, intellectual, or spiritual life in its neighborhood, just so surely must it stand for a higher conception of civic responsibility. Even superficial analysis will show that many of the most important questions with which a settlement must deal are inextricably bound up with municipal reform, and can only be satisfactorily settled as reform in this line progresses. This is particularly true of industrial problems. Again, the ideal of brotherhood cannot be complete unless it includes the relation of citizenship; for in no other way can we in our crowded cities touch the lives of thousands of our brothers and sisters.

That this is the belief of the majority of those who live in settlements has been shown by the efforts they have made in this direction.

In the spring of the present year the writer sent to the thirty oldest settlements in this country and to the twenty oldest in England and Scotland the following list of questions:—

1. Have you any clubs organized for the purpose of giving instruction in the duties of citizenship or for promoting interest in and discussion of municipal affairs? Are these clubs for men, women, boys or girls?
2. In any club not specially devoted to municipal interests is any such work done incidentally? If so, what?
3. Are any courses of study, university extension or otherwise, offered in civics? About how many are enrolled for these courses?
4. Are any public lectures given on any subject pertaining to municipal affairs? Are they well attended?
5. Has the settlement or any of its residents ever taken active part in municipal campaigns? If so, what were the issues involved?
6. Have any settlement residents ever held city offices? If so, what?

7. Do the city authorities ever ask the co-operation of the settlement in any way?

8. Has the settlement ever attempted to secure from the city improvements for the neighborhood? If so, what, and with what success?

9. Does the settlement act with its neighbors to secure the enforcement of existing ordinances?

10. Is the settlement called upon to be represented at public meetings on questions of public interest?

11. Can you suggest any lines along which settlement efforts in civic matters can be extended?

The response was most generous and satisfactory. Of the 30 American settlements, 22, including all the important ones, replied. Of the 20 English settlements, answers came from 12.

Out of these 34 settlements, 9, 3 here and 6 in England, replied that they had made no efforts along civic lines, and said, or implied, that they considered it outside their legitimate field of labor.

The answers — many of them in much detail — from the other settlements contain a great deal that is of value: first, as a record of what is actually being done; second, as showing very plainly the lines along which these efforts are developing; and, third, as a basis for future comparison and measurement, when in years to come we may wish to see how far along the road we have gone in a definite time.

In all of the American settlements which acknowledge their responsibility to the cities in which they are located, instruction and discussion of the duties and obligations of citizenship are a recognized part of the work of the clubs connected with them. In 11 settlements there are 17 clubs organized especially for this purpose. Of these clubs 6 are for men, 7 for boys, 1 for girls, 2 for both men and women; and in two cases the character of the membership was not specified.

In those settlements which have Citizenship Clubs there is, in addition, incidental work done in other clubs along these lines.

6 settlements report that at different times courses of study have been offered in civics, and one other settlement reports a class as then forming. In 2 settlements there have been university extension courses. The number attending such courses has ranged from 7 to 100. It is worthy of note that in most cases (as has been shown by the experience of Hull House) preliminary work has been necessary before a large attendance could be secured in a course involving much mental effort.

In 10 settlements public lectures are given from time to time on subjects connected with municipal interests. Often these lectures are upon some topic which is germane at the moment, as, for example, "The Relation of Means of Public Transportation, as the Street Railways, to the City," at Philadelphia during the past winter, or "What will be gained by Consolidation?" in New York and Brooklyn. Other subjects have been "The Departments of City Government," "The City Charter," and "State Laws affecting Municipalities." Audiences at such lectures have been chiefly composed of men.

Turning from efforts which are educational in character, we find that 8 settlements have gone forth to battle actively, either as settlements or through individual residents, in municipal campaigns where an issue which seemed to them as important was involved.

In Chicago the issue has been to "defeat boodle aldermen." In New York 2 settlements gave valuable help in the anti-Tammany campaigns. In Philadelphia and Boston women's settlements have tried to help put women on the school boards. Usually, the settlement has been on the losing side; but this was only what was expected. The effort served to make the winning majority less.

In this country settlements are so young and terms of residents have generally been so short that there has been comparatively little opportunity for residents to make their influence felt as members of public boards or committees or through service as city officials. England, with her longer experience, has come to recognize the value of holding such offices, and not only to accept, but to seek such positions for the broad opportunities of service which they offer.

Mr. Percy Alden, of Mansfield House, London, who has been a councillor of the borough of West Ham for the last three and a half years, writes on this point: "Everything, in my mind, depends, in England, upon direct representation. I can do more on the Council in a week than I could in many years as a private individual. My deliberate opinion is that it is almost waste labor to try and reform unless you can get at the inside working, and be the employer of the officials, who are at the mercy of councillors and aldermen to a large extent."

As is to be expected, Hull House and the New York College Settlement, the oldest two of our settlements, take the lead in the number of residents serving, or who have served, in public capacities. Hull

House, at the present time, has one State factory inspector, one member of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, and one garbage inspector, the latter holding a salaried position on the city force. From 95 Rivington Street there have been appointed by the mayor one inspector of schools and one member of the Advisory Committee on East Side Parks; and for three summers one resident has been appointed by the Board of Health on the summer corps of sanitary inspectors. Mr. James B. Reynolds, of the University Settlement, New York City, has been for a year a local school trustee.

Mr. Philip Ayres, secretary of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, is a resident at the North-western University Settlement.

The resident physician at the Philadelphia College Settlement is one of the assistant medical inspectors of the Board of Health,— a salaried position in the appointment of the mayor.

Mr. Robert Woods, of South End House, Boston, is chairman of the City Committee on Public Baths; and a resident at Chicago Commons is ward inspector of streets and alleys. Thus 7 of our settlements are brought into touch with city authorities, and through these residents exercise, to a greater or less extent, influence for good in most important directions. That in some of our cities, at least, the settlement is recognized as an important factor in its neighborhood is shown by the fact that 6 of our settlements report that their help and co-operation as a settlement has been sought by those in authority. The departments to which help can most easily be given and those, therefore, most likely to ask it, are those dealing with matters where personal relations have a chance to tell, as the Department of Street Cleaning and the Board of Health. In several instances the Department of Public Safety has asked for help in securing evidence against persons violating ordinances.

While the co-operation of only 6 settlements has been asked by the authorities, 13 settlements have not hesitated to ask the authorities to co-operate with them. 7 have succeeded in getting what they wanted. The others have by no means given up in despair. The co-operation desired has usually been in the shape of permanent improvements for the neighborhood. Often such improvements can be had if there is only some centre or person to organize an effort to obtain it. Many of the worst localities could be re-created in six months if their inhabitants were made to realize that such conditions did not *need* to exist. Such improvements as the sub-

stitution of improved pavement for cobble, with its attendant filth, has been accomplished in some few instances.

The securing of increased school facilities in three cases has been due to settlement efforts. Three free libraries have been planted in thickly settled districts at the request of settlements. In three cities our settlements have taken active part in successful efforts to secure open parks and playgrounds. Public baths, opening needed thoroughfares or preventing the closing of those already in existence, additional street lighting in criminal neighborhoods, removal of offensive dumping grounds, and other minor matters have received attention. As time passes, this list will greatly lengthen.

15 out of 18 settlements have given thought as to how best to secure the co-operation of the neighborhood in the enforcement of existing ordinances. In most cases the co-operation has been in getting clean streets. 1 settlement reports co-operation to secure enforcement of factory laws, ordinances respecting fire-escapes, lighting halls and stairways, taking bribes of policemen, and putting liquor in chocolate drops. In all these matters settlement residents, through their intimate knowledge of their neighborhood, are well prepared to be of service.

It is a feature common to democratic England and America, when vital matters affecting the general welfare arise, to hold a mass meeting, and consider it in all its bearings. To such meetings representatives of bodies having recognized public functions are invited. 9 settlements have received invitations to send representatives to meetings of this sort. 2 report that they never send settlement representatives as such, but attend as individuals. 2 of our New York settlements have been called upon several times to testify before legislative committees on questions affecting the East Side. The testimony of one of the residents (a woman) on a question concerning tenement houses was said to have been particularly valuable to the committee.

Of the 6 English settlements who report civic efforts only 1, the Women's University Settlement, Nelson Square, is carried on by women. Here incidental educational work is done in the clubs; and lectures on Local Government, Factory Acts, etc., are included in the training course for workers. The residents also assisted in a canvass for poor-law elector.

The importance placed in the English settlements upon personal

service in public boards is shown by the fact that in all 5 settlements which report — namely, Toynbee Hall, Mansfield House, Oxford House, Robert Browning Hall, and Bermondsey settlement — residents hold such offices. In several cases at the same time different residents were serving on various boards, as Boards of Guardians School Boards, and County Councils. Mr. Barnett, of Toynbee Hall, lays emphasis on the fact that their efforts are not made as an institution or organization, but as individuals,— citizens of that locality, and each responsible for his own actions.

In these 5 settlements the same lines of civic effort are followed as in our own settlements,— clubs, lectures, municipal campaigns; in short, all that results from recognition, as a settlement or as individuals, of the duties and privileges of good citizenship.

So much of statistics as to what has been and is being done.

What of the future? How by taking counsel together may we work more intelligently and more definitely together toward "civic righteousness"? There are differences of opinion, and circumstances and conditions vary. The wise man in settlement work does not blindly follow the example in detail of his neighbor settlement, because, though perhaps separated by only a few squares, the methods appropriate to each may be as far apart as the poles. Here, as elsewhere, each, to be successful, must devise its own plan of action. But it gives us new enthusiasm, and perhaps ideas that will be as germinating seed thrown on ground prepared, to hear what those most experienced believe as to the direction our efforts can most wisely take.

Mr. Alden has already been quoted. If our most successful efforts are to come through service in official capacities, permanency of residence must in some way first be secured.

Mr. Stead, of Browning Hall, advises, "Whenever you see a lack, supply it: there is no limit to the public influence of the settlement as it advances."

The warden of Bermondsey Settlement, London, feels that a settlement ought not to form a party of its own on civic issues nor join an existing party, but that municipal efforts should be chiefly educational, tending to form correct public opinions.

Miss Addams says, "Work along every possible line which would insure more public control of the social machinery of the community."

The University of Chicago Settlement believes that we can best achieve results along educational lines, that "we should not press our way into political fields," but that, if the way opens, it should be followed.

The head worker of the New York Settlement thinks that we can be of most service by making ourselves authority on matters of detail in our own neighborhood, so that we may be able to furnish reliable information to those who will be able to use it.

Mr. James B. Reynolds, of the University Settlement, New York, holds much the same views, but advises in addition "active co-operation with all voluntary citizen movements extending over the entire city, and the organization of similar local movements in the district in which the settlement is placed."

It is easy to catalogue the definite undertakings of the various settlements along any special line. We can count clubs and reckon the improvements obtained, the campaignings in which we have taken part, and the offices we have held; but it need not be said that this is not the issue or the end of the matter. The thing we seek for and must gain, if we are to attain our ends, is that growth in character, in honesty and integrity, in manhood and womanhood, that will finally make civic corruption impossible. It may seem a vast undertaking to so leaven all our society, but we must remember that the settlement is only one small part of the force at work. We must not demand results too soon, but we must not lose our hopefulness. We must expect discouragements and backslidings; but, in the language of Saint Paul, "forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before," we must boldly "press toward the mark."

THE SETTLEMENT AND MUNICIPAL REFORM.

BY JAMES B. REYNOLDS, UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT, NEW YORK CITY.

The settlement has two broad lines of interest and activity. The first is quite familiar to the philanthropic public, and presents less that is unique. It is the work that goes on within the settlement house in the way of clubs and classes, social and educational movements. Such effort has, we think, the advantageous touch of our residential force and some peculiarities of method which may vary in different places. But, in the main, it differs little from similar work done by churches and other moral institutions.

The second broad division of our work is our interest in the mass of the people who never come to our house nor care for its special privileges. This consists of co-operation with labor reform movements, charity relief, and municipal reform. The first two of these I shall omit entirely, because I believe they will be considered by others at this Conference.

The settlement and municipal reform is our theme. I believe it to be the largest and most important at the same time that it is the most delicate and difficult work in which the settlement could engage. Let us grapple with the situation. We find the rulers and governors, — that is, the great men of the poorer quarters of our cities, the men who are known to the children as their heroes, and who are greater heroes in their eyes than are the moral leaders of standing, whose abodes are remote from them,— these men are politicians of the lowest grade. They are "out for the dust only." Their standards of the things that influence men are as purely utilitarian as those of any capitalistic trust or monopoly. Yet in personal disposition and character they are by no means bad. I have met many of them, and found them, as a class, generous with their money and pleasantly spoken to every one. They will toil unceasingly to secure a place for some unfortunate follower, to prevent stay of proceedings for eviction, to secure release of property of an unfortunate street vender, and have very tender feeling about removing any one from office, even one of their political opponents. It seems rough to them to "do a man out of his job." But their municipal program is lim-

ited. Its platform, when they are in, is to stay there; and, when out, to get back again. Their followers are of the somewhat dependent class of the district, though perhaps no more so than those who come and expect aid of our social and educational efforts. Yet, notwithstanding the good will and good heart of these people, their administration is rough and often brutal. To this add ignorance and a lack of intelligent purpose and of moral ideals. Two practical results of the combination are eminently worthy of our most serious consideration.

(1) I have never seen a city where political corruption abounded that I did not find, in the last analysis, the effect of such corruption was to produce material want and physical suffering for a certain proportion of the community. The corruption of our health department brings disease into the houses of the poor who cannot defend themselves from it, and who cannot care for themselves with it. Corruption in the departments of public education means defective school buildings and inferior teaching forces. The result of the latter will be that some of the children who under better training would have lifted themselves out of their position enter life defectively equipped, and fall back to the pauper or semi-pauper class, the real cause being the blind generosity of some politician who appointed the incapable daughter of a worthless friend to waste the time of the children to whom these two or three years was the one door to the opportunity of better things in life. The defective or corrupt administration of other departments, if examined, will show that it is the poor who suffer, and that in the worst manner.

(2) Still more strongly am I impressed that no factor does so much to weaken the good efforts of churches, missions, and moral and educational reform institutions as the influence of political corruption. The earnest endeavor of all men and women in all our larger cities is being sapped and undermined by these factors which have been so long disregarded. Yet the devoted workers who are willing to ruin their health and destroy their nerves in the service of the sick, of the children, or in laboring for the religious conversion of those who have gone astray, will usually shrink in holy horror from the thought of contamination with politics. In a recent campaign, when we appealed to the clergyman of a church near us to supply some of his laymen to act as watchers at the polls to secure an honest vote, he refused on the ground that there was con-

siderable religious interest in his church, and he was afraid it might be disturbed by such carnal effort. He could not see that the influence of bad politics was doing more to destroy wholesome religious feeling than his labor could create. He might ignore the results; but some of his congregation would be debauched as voters, others would become payers of blackmail or criminally related in one way or another to the sins of the district. If they lost their religion, they sacrificed also their morals; and, if they still remained religious, they became worthless hypocrites. Had he realized how large a proportion of his congregation were or would become one or the other, he would doubtless have acted differently. His eyes were not open to the darkness and its effects.

Similarly, our charitable relief work is bound by the reckless giving of political leaders without the least thought of the influence on the family, their need, or how they would use the gift. Politics is a notable aid to pauperization.

Now here is our field, and I have stated what I believe to be its condition and the cause thereof. Is it worth while to meet the enemy at the gate? If we had no better reason, it would be sufficient to say that we need to enter it, in order to promote the inefficiency of the efforts of our other friends.

When we enter the field of political reform with the serious purpose of accomplishing results, two preliminary considerations must be recognized. (1) We shall depend for our success on one element of the people we have probably not largely encountered heretofore. It is made up of the independent class who do not sell their votes, doubt the value of philanthropy, and, unless compelled to pay blackmail in some form, have had no relation to politics. With them we must form an alliance with which to turn the tide. They will be composed partly of the tradespeople and partly of the laboring classes. (2) We have to consider not merely how we may sow the seed of right ideas, but how we can obtain a numeral majority. Victory is not our only object as it is that of the politician, but it is one of our objects; and, unless we can present a program that has some chance of winning, our following will be extremely small. Here we part company with the preacher, who has nothing to do with majorities, and try to become statesmen. A statesman is a politician; *i.e.*, one whose sole object is success plus principles. The statesman seeks to obtain success for as many principles as will

receive the indorsement of the majority of the people at any given time. We are here on delicate ground, but it is better to know it than to fancy that we are on *terra firma*. Ethical teachers may reproach us for not writing all truth on our banners. To follow their advice would be to consign ourselves to absurdity, and continue the majority of the forces of darkness. In politics we appeal not to the future which we want to create, but to the present which has been blinded and perverted by the conditions that now are. But woe to us if we lose our ideals for the future in coping with the present! It were better for us that our political instincts had never been born.

I will only add three practical suggestions and an appeal. For brevity's sake let me be dogmatic.

1. We must know where we are. That means we must begin by learning something of our existing municipal government, its obligations, its difficulties, and its needed and possible improvements. Radical reformers who have never touched the administration of large corporations are continually proposing hopeless schemes which make them appear ridiculous to the practical politician, who, after all, knows his business. An active interest in the various departments of city government, and co-operation with them in planning out their proper work, will be the best method of obtaining this preliminary knowledge. This will prepare us to consider our second point.

2. Program,— we must have a municipal program. It will be of little use and not worth while to denounce politicians. After all, we should only be denouncing human nature, its willingness to deceive and be deceived. It is sometimes useful to air a scandal, but it is better to proclaim our principles directly. A study of our municipal affairs will have presented to us ideals for the improvement of existing departments which we can uphold to our neighbors, and in time persuade them to consider. We can advance from this basis to other items of a sound municipal program. Our attitude may be conservative or radical, but we probably shall agree that an efficient government will take up some more extended interests than those covered by city governments in this country at the present time. The question of municipal ownership of street-car franchises, of lighting facilities, of the wages to be paid by city departments, and the important subject of the conditions of contract work given by the city government in lines where it does not do the work itself, all afford material within our sphere of interest and appropriate action.

Of great importance is it to raise the educational as well as the economic question, and to secure discussion of the demands which an industrial age may make upon education. Kindergarten work, with its development of the mind by the use of the senses, manual and technical training, and industrial education as a part of the public school system are all matters which need to be made issues for the welfare of the people. A few of these well stated will be the basis of a single campaign.

3. Organization.— A more doubtful question is that of direct organization for the work. We certainly never will accomplish permanent results without the use of organization. We must have our own primaries if we intend to secure a nomination of our own candidate. To have an organization made up for each issue means an amount of effort which the politicians are far too wise and too far-sighted to undertake. Yet to sustain a regular organization all the year round sometimes involves dangers and expense which any one who has touched politics will appreciate. Perhaps a wiser way is to keep our older clubs acquainted and interested in local matters, that they may be ready and willing to turn aside from their usual work to such efforts in time of need. We can also keep lists of names and addresses of our neighbors who are especially well informed on various local districts and ready to co-operate; and so, in a less ostentatious way, we can have a force ready to be launched at short notice, and which shall not be an army of raw recruits.

Now a word of appeal. Go into politics. Every force that believes in making righteousness pervasive should do the same. It is a sign of the conditions of our cities that municipal interest on the part of honest people means an immediate demand for municipal reform. We cannot look at our municipal conditions without at once calling for changes. Be earnest, be practical, and be active. Political reform is the great moral opportunity of our day, and let us be wise enough to seize it.

THE SOCIAL SETTLEMENT AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

BY GRAHAM TAYLOR,

WARDEN CHICAGO COMMONS.

When the debt of English learning to English labor was recognized by Arnold Toynbee, and culture found its social self-expression in that service to and with the industrial classes whereby he sought to discharge his obligation both to them and to himself, the motive of the settlement movement awoke to self-consciousness, and began to be the stir of a new life in England's oldest university. The legal tender in which the royal law of liberty bound him to pay what he owed, was not the spurious currency of patronage or pity; not long-time notes with ecclesiastical indorsement, payable only in another world and a future life; not the clipped coin of every realm, which substitutes for justice something less than a just standard of living in payment for honest labor; but it was the only medium of real exchange between man and man, the practical recognition of industrial democracy and social equality.

From Toynbee's day to this hour the *raison d'être* of the social settlement movement, by which little groups of men and women have been impelled to leave the surroundings of the privileged classes and live among the unprivileged masses, has been the recognition of social democracy, not only as the worthiest ideal of society, but as the freest self-development and highest self-expression of human personality. Taking up their residence in and becoming part of the industrial districts of the great cities, these households of social democrats have so identified themselves with and been adopted by their neighbors as to invest the social settlement with increasingly recognized functions in the industrial and social life of the body politic.

Foremost among these functions is the observation of facts as to the social condition of labor.

Toynbee's friendly visitation for the Charity Organization Society, and his subsequent periods of residence in the heart of East London, emphasize his declaration that the labor question "revived the

method of observation," and "restored observation to its place" in political economy, so that economists may be able to "ascertain from actual observation of the industrial world they lived in how far these assumptions were facts, and from the knowledge thus acquired to state the laws of prices, profits, wages, rent, in the actual world."

If not scientific "laboratories" or "observatories" whence such wide inductions may be expected, the social settlements are raising up trained observers of social phenomena, whose testimony to facts may reasonably be expected to have more and more scientific value to the economics of industry, as well as to those preventive, restorative, and reformatory efforts for the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes which fairly constitute the new science of philanthropy. What may be added to our equipment for sociological work by settlement observers is indicated by Hull House Maps and Papers, and the reports of one of its residents, Mrs. Florence Kelley, the factory inspector of Illinois, on Child Labor and the Sweating System, and by the contributions of Canon and Mrs. S. A. Barnett, Miss Jane Addams, and others whose inspirers they have been, to the current literature of the social sciences. In times of stress and strain these eye and ear witnesses to the facts of the social situation have already earned their right to be heard and heeded.

The interpretation of the industrial classes to others — of the majorities and the minorities to each other — is a second function of the settlements.

Nothing is more imperatively needed to promote industrial peace and progress than to interpret the labor movement, not only to the classes who withstand it, but to its adherents who could serve it the more if they understood it better, and to that great, undecided jury who know not what to think or do, and yet upon whose attitude and action public safety depends. For the labor movement is not, as so many among us seem to think, yesterday's movement of some men against others, of a few strikers against employers who lock them out. It is the movement of Man. Crafts and classes are moved by it, but it is the movement of the mass. Men and measures are its way-marks, but its progress marks the way life is taking. It has had leaders and organizations; but those who have seemed really to lead, and not mislead the way, are they who have simply seen the movement of life, and have followed. It not only has a history, but has made, is making, and more and more will make, history. "The

brilliant though chequered career of trades-unions" is declared, by Professor Alfred Marshall, of Cambridge University, the greatest of contemporary political economists, to be "more full of interest and instruction than almost anything else in English history." Chequered, indeed, it has been, with a class selfishness as abhorrent as that of any individual, yet also with as humane an unselfishness as gilds the progress of altruism. Chequered with strikes and violence? Yes, but also with the heroism of as sublime a patience, as brave a self-sacrifice, as serene a faith, and as divine a hope as have glorified the "Book of the Martyrs." Chequered, be it sadly admitted, with cruel contempt of personal liberty and the awful injustice of the mob, but, be it not denied, with a consciousness of and conscience for justice, justifying its claim to be one of the profoundest ethical and religious movements passing through the nineteenth century into the twentieth.

The master motive and final goal of this movement of common life for the emancipation of labor is, and ever has been, however unconsciously, Industrial Democracy. Its first great struggle has been to democratize production. And what a pitiful struggle it has cost, and still will require, to win for the people the freedom to produce enough to maintain the standard of a human life for themselves and their children! Witness the suffering long ago for a foothold on the very earth, the freedom to trade, and liberty of movement, and, through many a year to come, for access to natural resources, the use of tools, the commonwealth's interests in transportation, the emancipation of woman and child, rest for the overworked, and work for the unemployed.

To democratize distribution is the still mightier task before toiler, economist, and legislator, which has only fairly been begun, but must be borne on to some situation more tenable than existing conditions allow. For, as the democratic ideal of individual life raises the standard of living, the anomaly of overstocked markets and underfed, ill-clad, poorly housed producers will be accepted less and less as a natural law or an inevitable condition. More and more such a social situation will seem irrational, immoral, irreligious, and intolerable. Under-consumption will be taken sufficiently to account for overproduction. Then some form of a more democratic ideal of industrial society will be realized, in which private frugality will be balanced by public luxury. The organization of labor is at

once manhood's protest against the monopolizing of production and one of the mightiest forces more justly to equalize the distribution of product. "In all cases in which trades-unions arose," their greatest historian affirms, "the great bulk of the workers had ceased to be independent producers, themselves controlling the processes, owning the material and the product of their labor, and had passed into the condition of lifelong wage-earners, possessing neither the instruments of production nor the commodity in its finished state."

The motive of these movements for industrial democracy, therefore, is not grovelling greed for the abundance of things, in which we all know a man's life does not consist. Human rights and personal values; a living wage, on less than which a man cannot live and be a man; a standard of life upon which the existence of home and its motherhood, wifehood, and childhood depend; a tenable social status, with its possibility of peace, progress, and human brotherhood,— these are the issues of social ethics involved in "the wages question" which few can interpret so well as the settlement neighbors of an industrial community. Loyalty to law and legal measures to secure and maintain rights may at this moment depend, more than on anything else, upon the popular interpretation of the movement of labor from its legal inferiority to its equality before the law. No public service is of greater moment than this, which the settlements are exceptionally well circumstanced to render. The history of our Declaration of Independence is not now more important than this lesson of the interdependence of all classes of our people upon each other. The patriotism of our people depends not more upon the tale of the war for the Union, waged thirty years ago, than it does upon the story of the struggle for industrial peace and social unity, the brunt of which has come upon us through six hundred years of fratricidal strife. Fraught with threatening warnings and pleading promises for our own day, and with the signs of our own times in the handwriting of history ever about to repeat itself, is the story of the liberty of labor. How much more than scarcely any of us realize do we all need to learn the lessons of its luminous literature, "writ large" from the vision of "Piers Plowman" to that of John Ruskin, from the field sermons of John Ball to the labor talks of John Burns, from the dream of Sir Thomas More to that of Edward Bellamy, from the strike of Wat Tyler to that at Pullman, from the English "Statute of Laborers," Poor Laws, and Charter Rights

to our American Interstate Commerce Act, from Robert Burns's "For a' that" to James Russell Lowell's "Vision of Sir Launfal," from Shaftesbury's conquest of freedom for the factory child to Florence Kelley's almost single-handed fight for it in Illinois, from the repeal of anti-trades-union laws in England half a century ago to our belated and futile refusal to recognize organized labor as one of the most potent forces at work in American civilization, from the scholarly respect commanded by Toynbee's interpretation of the Industrial Revolution, Sidney Webb's "History of Trades-unionism," and Alfred Marshall's recognition of the economic value of the dignity of labor to the unintelligent suspicion or indifference toward similar research and interpretation still prevalent in cultivated American circles!

Only from such sources as these may be drawn the two most important lessons that the history of labor contains for the American Commonwealth,— respect for the rights of the industrial classes, and trust in the power of legislation to attain and maintain them. If our employing class knew the patience of the poor through these six centuries of waiting and suffering for their long-since recognized rights, they would neither presume upon its continuance in this dawn of the day of their power, nor wonder at their lack of self-control in the acquisition of the first-fruits of victory and in the first flushes of the consciousness of their strength. If the industrial classes realized how surely though slowly their liberties have won their way into the heart of English law, against not only the physical force so often employed by the governing class to prevent their rise, but also against the unjust legislation futilely enacted against them, they would have no further faith in violence, but have recourse only to the jury of public opinion, the ballot, and influence upon legislation through the "initiative" and "referendum." If we of that jury of public opinion could but realize that democracy has come, and come to stay,— for good or ill,— we would know that not less, but *more* of it is the only safeguard of our liberties, and that political democracy involves the democracy of industry; and we would hasten to educate our masters, the majority. In leading the way to this, may the settlements join the hands of organized labor and our educational institutions and culture clubs, and thus most surely and speedily bring in the reign of industrial peace and social unification in the co-operative commonwealth that is to be!

A third function of the settlements in their relation to labor is to proclaim the ideal, and exemplify the practicability of social democracy.

Against no more constant or uncompromising foe has the movement for liberty and labor struggled in all the centuries than that basal falsity upon which all despotisms rest, the alleged essential inferiority of "men" to "masters," of the many to the few, of the people to the self-constituted oligarchies, political, industrial, social, or ecclesiastical. Phillips Brooks calls the claim that some are made to govern and others to be governed "the universal blunder of history," since all are called both to govern and to be governed. Professor Alfred Marshall affirms, "There is no extravagance more prejudicial to the growth of national wealth than that wasteful negligence which allows genius that happens to be born of lowly parentage to expend itself in lowly work. Since the manual labor classes are four or five times as numerous as all other classes put together, it is not unlikely that more than half the best natural genius that is born into the country belongs to them; and of this a great part is fruitless for want of opportunity." "A spirit of caste," he adds, "has held back the workingmen and sons of workingmen from rising to posts of command; and the old established families have been wanting in that elasticity and freshness which no social advantage can supply." To this "spirit of caste and deficiency of new blood mutually sustaining each other" he attributes the decadence of not a few English industrial towns.

Better chosen words cannot be cited to warrant the existence and state the highest mission of the social settlement. For, although truer of England than America, and less applicable to America's first century than to any other land on earth, these words are now true of a rapidly increasing multitude of our people, among both our full-blooded industrial class and the old established class deficient in new blood. For the sake of the latter no less than the former, and to arrest the "decadence" of both, the social settlements have moved in between. Sharing the lot of the one by choice and the privileges of the other by right of birth or culture, yet refusing to be classified with either, the residence of such settlers between the lines of caste affords here and there at least one little patch of common ground on mother earth where "equality is the basis of good society," upon which unequals may meet and mingle in those sweet

reciprocities and blessed interchanges which make the family heavenly, and which shall make over man-made, caste-cursed conditions into the city of God, and realize the religion of relationship in the social democracy of the kingdom of the Father, where the will divine is done on earth as in heaven.

Arnold Toynbee's closing words upon *Industry and Democracy* leave us where we all want to be: "It is true, indeed, that, as we move in the chill and tedious round of daily work, this hope will sometimes seem to us a dream. History will grow dim, faith will die, and we shall see before us not the fellow-citizen, but the obstinate, suspicious workman, the hard, grasping employer. Yet let us remember, even in these moments of depression, that there never was a time when such union between classes has been so possible as it is to-day, or soon will become. For not only has the law given to workman and employer equality of rights, but education bids fair to give them equality of culture. We are all now workmen as well as employers, inhabitants of a larger world; no longer members of a single class, but fellow-citizens of one great people; no longer the poor recipients of class tradition, but heirs of a nation's history. Nay, more, we are no longer citizens of a single nation, we are participators in the life of mankind, and joint heirs of the world's inheritance. Strengthened by this wider communion and ennobled by this vaster heritage, shall we not trample under foot the passions that divide, and pass united through the invisible portals of a new age to inaugurate a new life?"

RELIGION IN THE SETTLEMENT.

BY DEAN GEORGE HODGES.

Some good people are troubled over what they take to be a lack of religion in the settlement. There is no doubt that there ought to be a great deal more religion in the settlement. The men and women who are working for the betterment of the neighborhood need a deeper sense of consecration, more of the spirit of Jesus Christ, and closer companionship with God. They will tell you that themselves. And exactly the same thing may properly be said of the Church. Somebody has declared that the most imperative religious need of the present day is that Christians shall be converted to Christianity. We all need more religion.

Much of the criticism, however, which is given to the settlement — some of it by people who do not give anything else — is based upon a twofold misapprehension. There is a mistake on the one hand as to the right purpose of the settlement, and on the other hand as to the real meaning of religion.

The settlement is not a church. The church has its work in the community, and the settlement has its work; and there is as much difference between them as there is between the errand of the parson and the errand of the doctor. It would not be well to find fault with the physician because he is not a minister. It would not be wise to complain that he is content to make people well without at the same time trying to make them Methodists or Baptists. What we want of the physician is his ministration to our physical distress. He ought to be a Christian; and it is indeed a blessed thing if he can kneel down in the hour of need by the bedside of the sick, and bring comfort and peace to the troubled soul. But that belongs to the personal side of his life, not to the professional side. We do not send for him because he is a Presbyterian, but because he is a physician.

The purpose of the settlement is to minister especially and directly to the body and the mind. What the workers want is clean streets and clean houses, and a new interest in the welfare of the neighborhood, and a breaking down of the absurd barriers which divide social classes, and a chance for the privileged to minister to

the unprivileged. They want to open to the minds of their neighbors the delights of books, of pictures, and of music. They want to make their block a better place to live in. They are not there to convert Jews into Christians, nor to persuade Roman Catholics to join the American Protective Association. They are to help human beings, and to concern themselves with those elemental needs which are common to all people.

If the settlement workers are devoted Christian people, as they ought to be, and as many of them are, so much the better. There will be many quiet opportunities for ministration to the souls of men. Religion, indeed, cannot be left out. It enters of necessity into all the deeper relations of life. But to complain of the settlement that it has no sermons and no prayer-meetings, and makes no public confession of religion, is like complaining of the physician that he does not wear a surplice, and that he carries a medicine-case instead of a Bible.

To this misunderstanding as to the right purpose of the settlement must be added, in the case of some people, an error as to the real meaning of religion.

Thus there arose a discussion long ago as to whether or not a Saxon bishop, Alphege, should be called a martyr. He had, indeed, been killed by the heathen; but he had met his death not in defence of either the creed or the order of the Church, but in the act of stout resistance to the imposition of an unjust tax. Could it be said, then, that he was a martyr? Anselm decided that Alphege was as good a saint as any in the calendar, because he had given his life in the cause of liberty, which is of the essence of the Christian gospel.

The same question enters into Browning's "Fra Lippo Lippi," where a contention arises in the monastery as to what it is that makes a picture religious. The young painter has put upon his canvas God's good world as well as he can draw it,— actual men and women in their joy and sorrow, as they are, accounting them to be in the divine image, and maintaining that to show them truly is to interpret God.

> "'Ay, but you don't so instigate to prayer,'
> Strikes in the Prior: 'when your meaning's plain,
> It does not say, remember matins
> Or mind you fast next Friday.'"

What shall we say, then? Is the picture religious when it delights

the sense of beauty which God has given man, and makes him praise God for the fair world, or when it puts the beholder in proper mind of the rubrics of the Church?

It is plain that there are two quite different definitions of religion. It may be considered ecclesiastically as related to an organization, or it may be considered spiritually as related to all life. The small boys of Rivington Street, in the city of New York, when they are asked about the residents of the College Settlement, which is located in the neighborhood, say, "Oh, they're some kind of sisters." The description fits exactly. They are "some kind of sisters," intent on doing helpful, blessed, and sisterly service. But they are not sisters of the ecclesiastical kind. And the question at once arises, Is a sister of the ecclesiastical kind more religious than a good sister of the domestic kind? In order to be really religious, must a sister dress in black and white, and wear a cord about her waist and a crucifix upon her breast?

According to the answer which we make to these alternatives will be our feeling as to religion in the settlement. If he is a saint who dies in defence of the apostolical succession, while he is no saint who dies to set the people free; if a picture is religious which shows a mother and a child with halos about their heads, while the same picture without the halos would be the property of the world, the flesh, or the devil; if a vow and a gown are essential to the religious life,— then it must be confessed that there is no religion in the settlement. But, if we take religion to be synonymous not with institutionalism, not with denominationalism, not with barriers nor badges, but with the spirit and the life of Jesus Christ; if we accept that definition which describes it as ministration to the fatherless and the widows in their affliction, and as a keeping of the conscience unspotted by the world; if to go about doing good be a sign of religion; if a reaching out of the hand to those who are down be a sign of religion,— then is the settlement religious through and through, and the house in which its workers live is the house of God.

I make no doubt as to the Master's own interpretation. He said again and again that religion does not consist in talking, but in doing and living. Religion is a life. He compared the Church to leaven, which is put in the meal until the whole is leavened. Everybody knows that the yeast is not doing its proper service in the bread as long as it can be tasted. The evidence that its work is well done is that nobody thinks about it.

That means that the Christian purpose of the Church is not to be an institution, but an influence. Its glory is not in its fine buildings, but in the hearts and lives of a righteous people. It is successful not when it is rich nor conspicuous nor crowded with worshippers, but when men and women, who have learned at the altar or the pulpit the spirit of Jesus, are going out every day in the zeal of that inspiration to minister to those who need.

That is the kind of religion that is in the settlement. It is not institutional religion, it is not denominational religion, but there is love in it for God and man; and they whose hearts are full of it may answer as their Master did when the disciples of John the Baptist came to ask whether, after all, he were the religious leader for whom men were looking. He told the questioning disciples to stand beside him for a little while, and see. And, behold, the blind came, and went away with open eyes; and the lame came, and cast away their crutches, and palsied arms were stretched out strong, and the hearts of the poor were filled with hope and courage. There was no reference to other credentials. No word was said of documents or orders. Jesus was revealed in what he did.

And so it is with the settlement. Its faith is made evident by its works. We may know whether it is really religious or not by looking at it. If to labor to change the city of destruction into the city of God be religious; if to teach the word of God as it is written in the great world be religious; and if it be religious not to be ministered unto, but to minister,— we need not be greatly troubled about the settlement; for beneath its roof the blind begin to see and the lame begin to walk, and they who have been palsied take on strength, and the poor hear the good news of the gospel, that blessed gospel of the love of God which is interpreted by the service of man.

BENEVOLENT FEATURES OF TRADES-UNIONS.

BY JOHN D. FLANIGAN,

EX-PRESIDENT MICHIGAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

"What do trades-unions do for sick, disabled, unfortunate, and unemployed members?" is a question often asked.

The general public know very little of the aims and objects of the trades-union aside from what appears in the daily press from time to time, and the information gleaned from this source is not always reliable. Furthermore, they seldom come into prominence, and very little interest is manifested in them by the average citizen, except when they appear as factors in some great social or industrial upheaval. It is then that a few who have the welfare of their fellows at heart make some inquiry into the merits of these organizations. While trades-unions are averse to exploiting their internal affairs, they are always willing to encourage conscientious inquiry, knowing that their cause loses none of its merits by an impartial review, as it is founded upon the ideal of human justice.

The benevolent features of the trades-union are really in an experimental state. They are feeling their way gradually in this direction, and for this reason no well-defined plan has received universal approval. In fact, many contend that fraternal features should be eliminated, as the mission of the trades-union is to combat and protest against a condition of affairs in society that make a race of millionaires and paupers, and that to propagate side issues, however commendable, weakens the whole structure by a division of the energies that should be applied toward the consummation of the main object for which they are formed.

For Members in Distress.

Still, nearly all of the unions have one or more funds for use of members in distress. The disbursement of such funds is done in such a way as to make the members feel, as they are, entitled to any and all benefits that may accrue to them, as they are all contributors, and help to build up such funds for the emergencies as fit their case;

and, naturally, they do not have the diffidence in drawing upon the same as they otherwise would have if they were getting something for nothing, as nothing so degrades an able-bodied man, in his own estimation as well as that of others, as being a participant in a bounty to which he has no claim other than humanity. The workers look upon charity as something that must necessarily be for the care and comfort of the weak, disabled, and unfortunate, but that men who have been or are physically sound should have the foresight to provide for themselves in adversity. The modern trades-unionist takes the further stand that charity, indiscriminately dispensed, serves to bolster up the existing order of society with all its imperfections, and prevents the readjustment of present conditions upon a more equitable basis, which must necessarily take place if we are to maintain a humane as well as progressive civilization.

To bury the Dead.

Mortuary funds are accumulated and disbursed by almost every trades-union to-day. The reason for the general adoption of this feature may be found in the fact that it usually requires a large sum of ready cash for the burial of members, and may have a tendency to embarrass or inconvenience the family of the deceased, as few are able under present conditions to lay by a sufficient sum to provide for such an emergency. These mortuary benefits range from $40 to $550. The International Cigar-makers' Union pay a mortuary benefit of $40 for a member's wife or mother; $50 for members in good standing one year; for five-year members, $200; ten-year members, $350; fifteen-year members, $550. The other unions that have national mortuary funds provide for stated amounts, irrespective of the member's term of affiliation; but in most cases the local union provides an additional benefit, exceeding the parent organization's stipulation. The great railway organizations, in addition to the burial benefits, have an insurance feature that gives their membership risks from $500 to $3,000 at cost price. Aside from this, several unions own lots in many cemeteries, where they place members whose relatives cannot be found. In fact, nothing is left undone by the trades-union to provide for the proper burial of its membership.

For Sick and Disabled.

The cigar-makers, German compositors, and moulders have funds for the care of sick and disabled members, under control of the central or national organization. This feature of relief in other organizations is, in many cases, provided by the local unions, while some make no provision for it. But there are very few worthy cases of members of any union in distress through sickness or other disabilities that do not receive relief in some manner. The usual sum paid sick members is $3 or $5 per week. A few pay as high as $10 per week. In large cities the local unions maintain one or more beds in the leading hospitals, where their members can receive the best of care and medical treatment. Aside from this, the members of some unions maintain relief associations that pay from $5 to $10 per week during sickness. One of the requirements for membership is that all shall be active members of the union of their trade. Thus these associations are so closely allied with the trades-union that they seem almost a distinctive branch.

A New Departure.

In 1890 the International Typographical Union founded a home for the care of their sick, disabled, old, and infirm members. An unconditional gift of $10,000, tendered by George Washington Childs and Anthony J. Drexel, proprietors of the Philadelphia *Ledger*, to this union in 1886, formed the nucleus of the fund that erected the building, which is named after them. The Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers is located in Colorado Springs, Col., upon a plat of ground comprising eighty acres, presented to the union by the citizens of that enterprising city. The building cost $65,000 and the furnishings $12,000 more, although many of the rooms were furnished by local unions and philanthropic persons. The main building is four stories and basement in height. Towers one hundred feet high project from the north and south ends, affording a splendid view of the country. The building is one hundred and forty-four feet long by forty-four feet wide, with a wing twenty by forty feet, and is built of gray lava-stone with sandstone trimmings. There are sixty-three rooms, steam-heated, and provided

with electric lights and all modern improvements. At present there are seventy inmates. Applicants for admission must be recommended by the local unions of which they are members. This institution is maintained by a per capita tax of five cents per month, amounting to about $25,000 per annum, and is governed by a board of trustees. As compositors are affected, more or less, with pulmonary complaints on account of the close confinement of their work, many of them owe their lives to a year's sojourn at this home and the influence of the health-giving climate of Colorado, and have been sent on their way rejoicing. While others, owing to old age and disabilities that the best of medical skill and careful nursing could not overcome, have spent their last days there, surrounded by every comfort that fraternal love could provide. Over two hundred, so far, have been participants in the benefits of this institution since its opening.

"Out-of-Work" Benefit.

Very few organizations of national scope have adopted the out-of-work benefit feature, but among the most prominent of those that have are the cigar-makers and German printers. The Cigar-makers' Union provide a benefit of $3 per week, no beneficiary to receive in excess of $72 in any one year. Under their system, when a member draws benefits for six weeks, he is debarred from further benefit for seven weeks. This organization has also a feature whereby loans without interest, not exceeding $20, can be procured from local unions by travelling cigar-makers in search of work, to help them to the next town where work is available, provided an opportunity does not present itself for labor in the town or city in which they happen to be. The following statement of the amounts paid out for death, sick, out-of-work, and loan benefits by this organization is furnished by President G. W. Perkins: —

Travelling loan benefit, 1880 to 1896	$590,414.00
Sick benefit, 1881 to 1896	894,542.57
Death benefit, 1881 to 1896	353,894.90
Out-of-work benefit, 1890 to 1896	491,742.00
Total	$2,330,593.47

The German Typographical Union has the same plan almost as

the cigar-makers. With a membership of 1,200 they have paid benefits as follows: —

Travelling benefit, 1884 to 1896	$5,639.94
Sick benefit, 1884 to 1896	6,040.74
Death benefit, 1884 to 1896	79,047.35
Out-of-work benefit, 1884 to 1896	65,711.91
Total	$156,439.94

The iron moulders, American flint-glass workers, Brotherhood of Painters, Amalgamated Carpenters, Journeymen Tailors, and United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners also make a specialty of sick or out-of-work benefits.

To Tide over.

Several subordinate unions of the different trades have from time to time adopted temporary out-of work benefits, to tide their membership over short periods of business depression, the most notable of these being New York Typographical Union No. 6, which paid out for this purpose during the financial slump of 1893–94 over $29,000. Some of the subordinate unions make out-of-work benefits a permanent feature, but require that the recipients shall be contributing members at least three months; but there is seldom a worthy case that does not receive some consideration. Irrespective of the out-of-work feature of the trades-union is the feeling of self-reliance they instill in their membership. Members going from one town to another have the assurance that their lot is not wholly cast among strangers, as they are given a cordial welcome by their fellow-craftsmen, their immediate needs provided for, and an extra effort made to procure them employment.

Employing "Subs."

Some unions — notably, the compositors — have a system of substitutes to give work to the unemployed members. That is, members who hold regular situations, and desire to rest for a day or two to attend to business or private matters, do so by placing substitutes — some of those not regularly employed — in their position, who, per-

forming the same work as the regular hands and with equal skill, receive the same compensation for the time they work. In this way, many of those not regularly employed work from two to six days per week. As both hands — the regular and substitute — usually possess the same degree of skill, there can be no objection from the employer. But it is really doubtful in my mind whether the out-of-work benefit feature will be universally adopted by the trades-unions. It is, at best, a temporary expedient to tide members over enforced periods of idleness. Something more tangible and of lasting benefit must be secured by the working classes. Of what avail are all the out-of-work benefits, as long as it is possible for a few corporations or syndicates to shut down their plants, and throw out of employment any time more men than all the trades-unions, churches, and eleemosynary institutions can feed ? Society is now facing a crisis that is becoming more intense every day. Here we have in one of the most prosperous countries upon the face of the globe a million able-bodied workers seeking an opportunity to acquire a livelihood, and unable to find it; machinery and improved methods of production displacing thousands more; add to this the natural increase in population of half a million, and another half-million foreigners annually landed upon our shores to swell the number of competitors in an already congested labor market; factories shutting down on account of overproduction, and thousands starving or filling our poorhouses, and some, driven to desperation, our jails; all natural opportunities monopolized; supreme courts vetoing all measures that have been passed from time to time by Congress and State legislatures to relieve the situation; millions of acres of untilled lands held for speculative purposes by the few and millions of human beings homeless or crowded in unsavory tenements in our large cities. This is a picture that is worthy of the contemplation of the thoughtful, and should press into service the brightest minds of the age, that they may evolve some method of toning down its frightful reality.

This is the condition that confronts the workers of this country to-day, and one that trades-unions are striving to remedy by practical and logical means. Success does not always, perhaps, attend their efforts; but they are slowly, but surely, pushing upward and onward, gaining points, sometimes, by suffering some hardship, but always advancing. They look after the immediate welfare of the

workers, and are the most potent friends the industrial class has. Their mission is a practical one, not theoretical. We have had theoretical panaceas by the hundred thrown at us, but the people that preach them seldom make an effort to put them into practice. The trades-unions do very little upon theoretical lines, as their actions are prompted by the urgency of the ever-existing present. We realize that something must be done for the workers to relieve the present situation, and that it must be done quickly. Therefore, we take a practical view of the matter, and take up the point that seems to us needs most attention,—to create work for the unemployed.

To do so, we must have some benefit from labor-saving machinery through shorter hours. Several of the trades have secured this boon,—notably, the cigar-makers, carpenters, bricklayers, and German compositors. The reduction of the hours of labor will give employment to many out of work, and give those at present overworked through long hours time to recuperate, and give some attention and study to such reforms as will be of more lasting benefit to mankind. More leisure would necessarily increase the wants of all, as some would naturally acquire a taste for reading, more entertainment, better appointed homes, a greater amount of general social intercourse, not to speak of the intellectual, moral, and social improvement that would necessarily result. In proportion to the extent these new desires were gratified, they would gradually become urgent necessities, creating more work and opening new fields of industry for capital and labor. While shorter hours may not be the solution to the complex labor problem, there is no gainsaying that it will relieve its most acute form.

THE WORKING CHILD.

BY FLORENCE KELLEY.

STATE INSPECTOR OF FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS OF ILLINOIS.

There are two ways of dealing with the problem of the working child. One is to prohibit outright the employment of children under sixteen years of age, as Switzerland is doing. The other is the method adopted by all manufacturing countries, including our own, and consists in legislating to keep in the market an abundant supply of child labor, while restricting, to some extent, some of the most flagrant abuses which accompany it.

Thus the employment of excessively young children is now restricted in nearly every great manufacturing State by laws determining the age under which no child shall be employed. This legally specified age varies from ten to fourteen years. In Illinois we have both ages. Children are prohibited from mining and manufacture to the age of fourteen years. For all other occupations the age of work is ten years for children with school permits, and thirteen years for children without them. And, as the permits are lavishly issued by the local school boards, children go to work at any age at which they can make themselves useful to employers.

Under these provisions we have from 8,000 to 10,000 children between fourteen and sixteen years of age at work in manufacture, and a very large body of younger children engaged in mercantile and street occupations.

Having been engaged for three years past in enforcing the scant provisions of the Illinois law governing child labor, I am convinced that the only way to deal effectively with the child-labor problem is to keep all the children in school, to turn all the working children into school children.

We all assume, for instance, that there must be cash children and newsboys; and we forget that they are an American invention, regarded with surprise and disapproval by foreigners who come to this country to investigate our educational system. We arrange newsboys' homes and lodging-houses and banks; newsboys' picnics and treats, and even from time to time a theatre performance for the newsboys. But why have newsboys? Why not let the unemployed

men sell the papers, and the newsboys go to school, as our own children do?

Let us have every child in school every day of the school year until he or she is sixteen years of age. Let us have manual training all the way up, and technical training the last two years. Let us prohibit all employment of children for wages until they are sixteen years of age, except at farming or gardening. Then, after ten years of rigid enforcement of this, let us see whether we have not taken an unexpectedly long step in the direction of solving several problems connected with delinquency, the tramp difficulty, and the incompetence of the unemployed.

There are many opponents of this plan. The manufacturers' associations, the department stores, and that great telegraph company which, taking the whole country into consideration, probably employs more children than any other single employer in the world. These opponents are perhaps open to the charge of being somewhat sordid. They are, however, no more effective and no more zealous than that other opponent whose motives none can impeach, and whose righteousness gives her activity in this pernicious direction a very considerable power. This is the philanthropist who appears before the legislature and in churches and benevolent societies, filled with apprehension lest, in saving these thousands of children whose sad lot forms, year after year, the burden of the report of the factory inspectors, we may perchance interfere with the highest moral welfare of the worthy little boy who is supporting his mother and his sisters and brothers.

The department stores are becoming more and more able to dispense with the cash children by substituting for them pneumatic tubes. The working-class vote is increasingly able to cope with the telegraph company in the legislatures, but for the philanthropist there seems to be no remedy. She is always getting work for deserving little boys under the legal age; and, not having had to support a family in her extreme youth as the legislator had often had to do she is far more relentless than he in her demand that the little boy shall do the whole duty of man.

There is, however, one aspect of the child-labor question which will, in the course of time, perhaps soften even the heart of the philanthropist. This is the effect which early and enforced morality, beyond the normal lot of little boys, has upon the conscientious

orphan who goes to work at ten or twelve or even fourteen years of age, eager to be as grown up as possible, and as useful to his mother and his employer as any boy can be. I have seen scores of little lads like this; and there are hundreds of such little girls. Every quality of self-respect and eager love of service is conspicuously manifest in them for a little while. But precocity is as dangerous in morals as in intellect or genius. At seventeen the lad who promised so nobly is a very different person. The ruin wrought differs according to the temperament of the child. He may be merely a weary drudge, lacking in all the push and grit and pluck which every man needs who goes into the competition of life in this our century. Or he may be suffering from moral fatigue, a disease at least as rife as nervous prostration, though not so candidly diagnosed by the physicians of our social ills. Or, as happens not rarely, the little lad may have succumbed to the temptations to which he ought never to have been exposed, and have stolen some of the cash which we unimaginatively set him to carrying in the midst of all the things which he longs to possess.

How many cash boys and telegraph boys and newsboys have succumbed to the temptations forced upon them in their work we do not know, even in these days of statistics and of child study. But we who know the children by living where they live, and watching the temptations which their sordid home surroundings add to the temptations of their surroundings while at work, cannot fail to know that many a boy (who is discussed with greatest care after he has committed some offence) is the victim of the unwholesome standard of morals which set him to work to support his mother and the younger children before his moral development was equal to the strain, and left him as thoroughly the victim of overdriving as any young horse foundered by overdriving on the race track.

One of the problems of the settlements is finding work for boys after they are too old for the messenger and telegraph boys' uniforms. These boys have learned nothing in their work which is of any value to them. There is no versatility in them which might make them desirable employees in the hobble-de-hoy age. Their early eagerness to oblige, and to make a record of speed and promptness, has all oozed away. They are no longer dazzled with the prospect of earning $2, or even $4, a week. They know most exactly the purchasing power of the wages they are likely to receive; and,

balancing the fatigue and exertion against the pay, they simply sit still, and wait for something to turn up.

I do not mean that every working boy is morally ruined by his work; but I do mean that, the earlier the child goes to work, the greater the probability of this ruin. I mean, too, that there is to be gained, from a scientific study of the working children, an irradiating side-light upon the tramp question, the unemployed question, the drink question, and the whole ramifying question of the juvenile offender.

The physical condition of working children has never received attention, so far as I know, in any systematic way. There are some desultory provisions in the New York and Illinois factory laws which show that there is a dim consciousness in the law-making mind that children may be put at work beyond their strength, unless there is supervision of them by some State officer. But these provisions are so loosely drawn that they are nugatory. The Illinois inspectors are urging upon the legislature the necessity of adding to the staff a physician who shall give her whole time to the care of the children. There is, at present, no such material available as such a physician could furnish, upon the condition of the children, except the records of measurements made by two volunteer physicians for the inspectors, in 1893 and 1894, covering about 200 children, taken from the factories and workshops of Chicago. These records, published in the Factory Inspectors' Report for 1894, are startling in the proportion which they show of undersized rachitic, consumptive children at work. They are, however, so limited in number that their principal value lies in indicating the wide field open for investigating the working child as compared with the school child. What they show, comparatively, is that the stature of the working child is far less, upon the average, than that of the city school child. The child study of the past ten years bears out the assertion that stature in children is indicative of general development, physical and mental.

One other important consideration in favor of stopping the work of children and turning them over to the schools is the pauperizing effect upon the parents of letting children work. A very large part of the immigrants who come from Russia, Bohemia, Poland, and Italy, are attracted by the prospect of getting immediate cash returns from the labor of their children. I would not shut out these immi-

grants, but I would level them up to our standard by requiring them to support their children. One reason that these immigrants cling so closely to the great cities is that they find there far more opportunity to get money for their children's work. There is probably no one means of dispersing the disastrously growing colonies of our great cities so simple and effective as this one, of depriving the children of their immediate cash value.

Of the fathers who escape the due penalty of their intemperance by shelving their parental duty upon the girls and boys, it can hardly be needful to speak; though we do find, from time to time, a surprising inversion of ideas, by which the child seems to be working because the father drinks, no account being taken of the possibility that the father may drink the more light-heartedly because the lad is paying the rent by his work.

If there is any convincing argument in favor of the work of children under sixteen years of age, I shall hope that it may be brought out in the discussions of this influential body. I have never heard one in the many years that I have been watching the movement of public opinion on this subject.

The unmitigated evil of children's work is now recognized by a growing body of physicians. The factory inspectors of every State have joined their testimony to that of the working class in the demand for the abolition of child labor. A few editors and preachers, chiefly such as have tasted the bitterness of too-early toil, are helping along the movement. If the philanthropists can only be induced to join with these in demanding for the children more school life and less toil, the day will be speedily won.

REPORT OF SOCIAL SETTLEMENT COMMITTEE.

The accompanying tabulation has been made from the replies to certain inquiries sent out by the Social Settlement Committee of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, in order to prepare a report upon American settlements for the season of 1896. The list of inquiries was sent to all the American settlements whose existence was known, forty-four in number. Twenty-seven made replies. It has not been possible to put down the full wording of all the answers not dealing solely with figures, but it is believed that a fair condensation of these replies has been made. The answers are only approximate as to numbers; and the whole table must be regarded not as a piece of statistical work in the severe sense, but merely as a convenient way of placing before the eye a comparative view of the organization and work of most of the representative American settlements. It will be seen that the earliest settlements are less than seven years old; that they are all independent, with no uniformity as to organization or support. Some are incorporated, others not. It will be seen, too, that few own any property. (In each case when the property question is answered "No," there are doubtless some household effects of small value.) The number of residents varies at dates of reports from one to twenty. The proportion of college and university people is, in fact, much larger than the replies would indicate, as many residents have had university or college training, though they may not hold degrees. In the opinion of the committee the number of non-resident assistants is a most significant point, indicating the degree of acquaintance which the settlement makes possible between those people in a great town whose differing situations in life usually absolutely preclude personal knowledge of each other. It will be understood that the *personnel* of the non-resident assistants is a changing one: the same fact as to residents is indicated in the answers stating average term of residents in the settlement. The replies to the inquiry as to lines of work pursued may be taken only as suggestive of its extent, and it is understood that no attempt is made to indicate the magnitude of the work of each settlement. The replies are, in fact, only a confirmation of the statement made below, that each settlement does what its residents can do, and what, according to its own interpre-

tation, its neighborhood most needs. It is evident that the definition of a fellowship differs in different settlements, being in some cases given purely for investigation and research, in others for direct settlement work. It will be seen that nineteen of the settlements have no religious services. It should be stated, however, that all settlements, so far as known to the committee, are imbued in a sense deeper than that of creeds with a religious spirit. Probably the attitude of the majority of the settlements is that of the Philadelphia College Settlement, which has thus stated its views by its head, Miss Katherine Davis: —

> We have no religious services. Each resident attends her own church, and we encourage our neighbors to do the same. Our influence is distinctly *for religion*, but not for any denomination or creed.

The replies to the request for a definition of settlement have been necessarily omitted, being in some cases too long to use in this connection. In seven cases no reply was made to the request.

All definitions agree in making residence in the district or neighborhood where work is undertaken an essential condition. Miss Helena S. Dudley, of Denison House, Boston, says: —

> A group of educated men or women (or both) living among manual workers, in a neighborly and social spirit. Organized work is not essential, but is a convenient method of getting acquainted with people. Nothing is essential except residence and a spirit of brotherhood, expressed actively.

The other replies do not add any conditions to the question, and the committee regards this one as representative and faithful. There is an unwillingness to define closely, and a belief expressed by all settlement people that the activities of every settlement must be governed by the needs of its neighborhood and the abilities of the residents obtainable.

Time will undoubtedly bring a definiteness of scope and method which is now lacking. Should it bring at the same time institutionalism and rigidity of method, the essence of the present settlement idea would be destroyed.

TABULATION OF REPLIES TO INQUIRIES SENT OUT BY SOCIAL SETTLEMENT COMMITTEE, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, 1896, TO THE AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS.

Title and Location of Settlement. Name of Present Head.	*Is the settlement incorporated? Does it own property? Of what value?*	*When was settlement established?*	*Average number of residents. Average time of residence.*	*How many men residents at date? How many women?*	*How many college or university graduates?*	*How many from neighborhood visit settlement weekly?*	*How many visitors are men? For what purposes do they come?*	*How many non-residents help in person? How many are men?*
Chicago Commons, Chicago. 140 North Union Street. Graham Taylor, resident warden.	Yes. No.	May, 1894	17 Slightly less than 1 year.	7 men. 11 women.	3 men. 1 woman.	Nearly 1,200	$\frac{1}{4}$ or more. Industrial Economic Union, classes, chorus.	40 About $\frac{1}{3}$.
Cincinnati Social Settlement, Cincinnati. 412 East Third Street. Alice M. Schaff.	No. No.	January, 1895.	7 7 months.	3 men. 4 women.	2 men. 4 women.	350	$\frac{3}{10}$ men. Social, gymnasium, concerts, labor union, etc.	20 $\frac{1}{10}$ men.
Denison House, Boston. 93 Tyler Street Helena S. Dudley.	Under management College Settlement Association. Incorporated.	December, 1892.	6 6 to 8 months.	0 men. 4 women.	3 women.	350	$\frac{1}{14}$ men. Classes and socially.	25 2 men.
East Side House Settlement, New York. Clarence Gordon.	Yes. $25,000	April, 1891.	5 $3\frac{1}{4}$ months.	5 men. 1 woman.	4 men. 0 women.	1,000	$\frac{1}{3}$ men. Clubs, gymnasium, classes.	20 $\frac{7}{10}$ men.
Epworth League House, Boston. 34 Hull Street.	No.	September, 1892.	6 1 year.	2 men. 4 women.	2 men. 3 women.	300	$\frac{1}{3}$ men. Classes, counsel, and medical treatment.	50 $\frac{1}{3}$ men.
Epworth Social Settlement, Chicago. 49 Pearce Street. George W. Gray.	Department of "Forward Movement." Incorporated.	1894.	5	1 man. 3 women.	1 man. 0 women.	—	—	40 $\frac{1}{2}$ men.
Hartford Social Settlement, Hartford, Ct. Isabel Eaton.	No. No.	March, 1895.	2 6 months.	0 men. 1 woman.	1 woman.	175	$\frac{7}{15}$ men. Lectures, clubs, choral class.	18 $\frac{2}{9}$ men.

In above a dash indicates "No answer furnished."

Title and Location of Settlement. Name of Present Head.	*In what lines, educational, civic, social, industrial, charitable, have you obtained the most useful results for your neighborhood?*	*Sociological investigation or economic study,—its character, when and where published, by whom done?*	*Are any fellowships provided, and for what purposes of work or study?*	*What attitude does settlement take toward religious teaching? Have you any religious services for the neighborhood? If yes, what are they and by whom attended?*
Chicago Commons, Chicago. Graham Taylor, resident warden.	Educational, social, civic.	Investigations of social facts now in progress.	—	No direct religious services.
Cincinnati Social Settlement, Cincinnati. Alice M. Schaff.	Social.	"Investigation of Pawn-shops in Cincinnati," by Harry A. Millis, not published.	Indiana University furnishes one for sociological investigation and general settlement work; University of Cincinnati the same.	No religious services.
Denison House, Boston. Helena S. Dudley.	Social, industrial, educational; have organized 3 trades-unions, etc.	See note.	One last year; subject, Domestic Employment.	No religious services.
East Side House Settlement, New York. Clarence Gordon.	Educational, civic, social.	Investigations in progress.	None.	Not sectarian, a Sunday afternoon lesson mostly of song, attended by about 100 children.
Epworth League House, Boston.	"Educational, religious, medical, industrial, social, civic, in about order given."	Published: a paper, "Applied Christianity"; a volume, "A Religious Social Study of North End"; another study of social and religious conditions of locality in preparation.	None.	Evangelical religious at house and in hall.
Epworth Social Settlement, Chicago. George W. Gray.	Clubs for girls and women; house to house visitation in a neighborly way. "We prize work done by visiting sick and affording relief to immediate cases of necessity."	We have investigated the social evil problem of the 18th Ward with great care; not published.	None.	Favors it. We have Sunday-school, from 100 to 200, Evangelistic services when we do not have social or industrial meetings. Attended by several families in neighborhood and by many unemployed and homeless.
Hartford Social Settlement, Hartford, Ct. Isabel Eaton.	Educational, clubs and classes.	Co-operation with Committee of Fifty on Liquor Problem in prospect.	One is offered for work on liquor problem.	No religious teaching, no services. Though active proselyting discountenanced, "religion given same place which it would have in any normal social life."

In above a dash indicates "No answer furnished."

TABULATION OF REPLIES TO INQUIRIES SENT OUT BY SOCIAL SETTLEMENT COMMITTEE, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, 1896, TO THE AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS (*Continued*).

Title and Location of Settlement. Name of Present Head.	*Is the settlement incorporated? Does it own property? Of what value?*	*When was settlement established?*	*Average number of residents. Average time of residence.*	*How many men residents at date? How many women?*	*How many college or university graduates?*	*How many from neighborhood visit settlement weekly?*	*How many visitors are men? For what purposes do they come?*	*How many non-residents help in person? How many are men?*
Helen Heath Settlement, Chicago. 869 33d Court. A. J. Heath and Linda G. Brown, M.D.	No. $4,000.	October, 1895.	7 All the time.	1 man. 6 women.	0 0	185	— "Boys from 10 to 20 are one-half the visitors."	20 3 men.
Hull-House, Chicago. 335 South Halsted Street. Jane Addams.	Yes. $40,000	September, 1889.	15 —	2 men. 18 women.	2 men. 8 women.	2,000	Almost ½ men. Clubs and social purposes.	73 Over ⅓ men.
Kingsley House, Pittsburg. Miss Kate Everest.	Yes. No.	December, 1893.	4 6 months.	—	—	300 to 350	—	30
Log Cabin College Settlement (three miles from Asheville, N.C.). Miss Susan G. Chester.	No. No.	1894.	4 6 months.	0 men. 3 women.	0 men. 1 woman.	125	¼ or more men. Debating society, Employment Committee, library.	12 6 or more men.
The Maxwell Street Settlement, Chicago. 185 West 13th Place. Messrs. Moritz Rosenthal, Jesse Lowenhaupt, Jacob Abt.	No. No.	November, 1893.	3 Almost continuous.	3 men. 0 women.	3	250 to 300	¼ men. Classes or debating club.	25 About ⅓ men.
Medical Missionary College Settlement, Chicago. 744 47th Street. J. H. Kellogg and E. K. Slade.	— No.	1895.	15 From 3 to 10 months.	5 men. 10 women.	2 men. 2 women.	250	"A very small per cent. are men, who come for lectures, classes, medical care."	None.
New York College Settlement, New York. 95 Rivington Street. Dr. Jane E. Robbins.	Under management College Settlement Association. Incorporated.	October, 1889.	7 4 months.	0 men. 10 women.	0 men. 2 women.	Over 500	— Social occasions.	35 ⅐ men.

In above a dash indicates "No answer furnished."

Title and Location of Settlement. Name of Present Head.	*In what lines, educational, civic, social, industrial, charitable, have you obtained the most useful results for your neighborhood?*	*Sociological investigation or economic study,—its character, when and where published, by whom done?*	*Are any fellowships provided, and for what purposes of work or study?*	*What attitude does settlement take toward religious teaching? Have you any religious services for the neighborhood? If yes, what are they and by whom attended?*
Helen Heath Settlement, Chicago. A. J. Heath and Linda G. Brown, M.D.	Kindergarten, sewing classes, boys' clubs; charitable work made necessary by lack of employment among people.	—	—	No religious services.
Hull-House, Chicago. Jane Addams.	—	See note.	"Children's work," gymnastic work, secretary's work, "social purity" work, kindergarten training of sick children.	There is no formal religious instruction in the house.
Kingsley House, Pittsburg. Miss Kate Everest.	Educational, social, charitable.	"Food Investigation," Miss Luella Meloy, to be published by Prof. Atwater.	None.	No religious services.
Log Cabin College Settlement (three miles from Asheville, N.C.). Miss Susan G. Chester.	Educational and social, library and debating society; everything is discussed.	Miss Chester has measured 150 mountain children by United States Bureau of Education methods, to be compared with city children and published in work on anthropology.	—	Settlement aids Episcopal mission chapel of neighborhood.
The Maxwell Street Settlement, Chicago. Messrs. Moritz Rosenthal, Jesse Lowenhaupt, Jacob Abt.	Educational and social; neighbors, foreigners, who wish to learn English.	None.	None.	None.
Medical Missionary College Settlement, Chicago. J. H. Kellogg and E. K. Slade.	Kitchen garden and kindergarten. "The Catholic community in which we are has kept us from doing much for adults."	—	—	Yes, there are religious services. "Purely gospel talks on Sunday evening and Bible study for children, attended by all classes."
New York College Settlement. Dr. Jane E. Robbins.	"Social life most important, as it was greatest need of neighborhood; also worked in educational, civic, and industrial lines."	"Wages in Clothing Trade," etc., Isabel Eaton; "Tenement Houses," Ada Wolfolk, published in part in Report Tenement House Committee to Legislature.	There have been fellows sent by College Settlement Association.	No religious services.

In above a dash indicates "No answer furnished."

TABULATION OF REPLIES TO INQUIRIES SENT OUT BY SOCIAL SETTLEMENT COMMITTEE, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, 1896, TO THE AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS (*Continued*).

Title and Location of Settlement. Name of Present Head.	*Is the settlement incorporated? Does it own property? Of what value?*	*When was settlement established?*	*Average number of residents. Average time of residence.*	*How many men residents at date? How many women?*	*How many college or university graduates?*	*How many from neighborhood visit settlement weekly?*	*How many visitors are men? For what purposes do they come?*	*How many non-residents help in person? How many are men?*
North-western University Settlement, Chicago. 252 West Chicago Avenue. Mrs. Mary E. Sly.	No. No.	1891.	7 3 months.	1 man. 6 women.	1 man. 3 women.	700	One per cent. For employment or help.	25 $\frac{1}{5}$ men.
The Nurses' Settlement, New York. 265 Henry Street. Miss Lillian D. Wald.	—	1893.	5 Permanently.	0 men. 5 women.	2 women (all graduates of training school).	Several hundreds.	Small proportion. For social and friendly purposes and errands.	—
Philadelphia College Settlement, Philadelphia. 617 Carver Street. Katharine Bement Davis.	Under College Settlement Association.	April, 1892.	6 7 months.	5 men. 5 women.	0 men. 1 woman.	Over 1,000	$\frac{1}{6}$ men. Classes, clubs, lectures, etc.	42 11 men.
Pratt Institute Neighborhood Association Settlement, Brooklyn (Greenpoint). Astral Flats. Miss Mary White Ovington.	Part of Pratt Institute Neighborhood Association. No property.	September, 1895.	5	3 women.	1 woman.	235	$\frac{1}{9}$ men. Classes.	29 4 men.
Princeton House, Philadelphia. 537 Pine Street. Rev. Thomas H. Medd.	No.	May, 1894.	4	4 men, theologs from Princeton. 0 women.	4	House is chiefly used as dwelling for residents.	Work mostly done out of the House.	3 All men.
The Prospect Union, Cambridge, Mass. 744 Massachusetts Avenue. Robert E. Ely.	Yes. $55,000	January, 1891.	6 8 months.	6 men. 0 women.	2 men.	Between 600 and 1,000.	$\frac{3}{7}$ men. Mainly educational, also social.	100 All men (Harvard students).
South End House, Boston (late Andover House). Rollins Street. Robert Archey Woods.	No. No.	July, 1892.	5 2½ years.	5 men. 0 women.	—	250	—	25

In above a dash indicates "No answer furnished."

Title and Location of Settlement. Name of Present Head.	*In what lines, educational, civic, social, industrial, charitable, have you obtained the most useful results for your neighborhood?*	*Sociological investigation or economic study,—its character, when and where published, by whom done?*	*Are any fellowships provided, and for what purposes of work or study?*	*What attitude does settlement take toward religious teaching? Have you any religious services for the neighborhood? If yes, what are they and by whom attended?*
North-western University Settlement, Chicago. Mrs. Mary E. Sly.	Social.	Dr. Caldwell, North-western University, and students made investigations in ward; outcome partially printed in circular issued by settlement.	None.	No religious services.
The Nurses' Settlement, New York. Miss Lillian D. Wald.	Chief efforts are for improved hygienic conditions; instruction in household economics; "co-operation with labor questions."	—	No fellowships; 1 nurse sent by Ethical Society of New York, 1 by Presbyterian Hospital.	"As a settlement, nothing is said of religious teaching."
Philadelphia College Settlement, Philadelphia. Katharine Bement Davis.	Educational, civic, social.	See note.	One now offered for "investigation into social and economic conditions colored race in Philadelphia."	No religious services.
Pratt Institute Neighborhood Association Settlement, Brooklyn (Greenpoint). Miss Mary White Ovington.	Educational chiefly.	None.	None.	No religious services.
Princeton House, Philadelphia. Rev. Thomas H. Medd.	Work has been carried on along religious lines for most part.	—	Residents usually aided financially while working with us.	Undenominational, but Evangelical. Residents work among neighboring missions.
The Prospect Union, Cambridge, Mass. Robert E. Ely.	Educational, social; 75 classes; co-operative store.	Published *Cambridge Magazine*. Statistics of co-operation in America are being gathered; central office co-operative union of America.	None.	No religious services.
South End House, Boston (late Andover House). Robert Archey Woods.	Informal social work.	Published: "Guide to Evening Classes." "Estimate of Unemployed" (number), "Beggars and their Lodgings," "Anatomy of a Tenement Street" (bulletin of the house).	One for sociological study.	"Absolutely unsectarian, but workers are encouraged to co-operate with religious work."

In above a dash indicates "No answer furnished."

TABULATION OF REPLIES TO INQUIRIES SENT OUT BY SOCIAL SETTLEMENT COMMITTEE, NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, 1896, TO THE AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS (*Concluded*).

Title and Location of Settlement. Name of Present Head.	*Is the settlement incorporated? Does it own property? Of what value?*	*When was settlement established?*	*Average number of residents. Average time of residence.*	*How many men residents at date? How many women?*	*How many college or university graduates?*	*How many from neighborhood visit settlement weekly?*	*How many visitors are men? For what purposes do they come?*	*How many non-residents help in person? How many are men?*
South Park Settlement, San Francisco. 15 South Park. Mrs. Marie C. Schermerhorn.	— —	January, 1895.	4 —	2 men. 2 women.	0 0	370	$\frac{1}{15}$ men. Lectures on economics.	40 About $\frac{1}{15}$ men.
University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago. 4655 Gross Avenue. Miss Mary E. McDowell.	No. No.	1893.	6 7 months.	2 men. 5 women.	2 men. 0 women.	1,150	$\frac{1}{10}$ men. Clubs, chorus, concerts, classes.	95 —
University Settlement, New York. 26 Delancey Street. James B. Reynolds.	Yes. $5,000	As "Neighborhood Guild" in 1887.	6 9 months.	—	—	2,000	—	—
Welcome Hall, Buffalo, N.Y. 307 Seneca Street. Mary E. Remington.	—	November, 1895.	4 —	0 men. 4 women.	0	1,000	$\frac{1}{10}$ men. —	50 $\frac{1}{10}$ men.
Westminster House, Buffalo, N.Y. 424 Adams Street. Emily S. Holmes.	No. No.	September, 1895.	4 Continuously.	0 men. 7 women.	2 women.	500	"Very small proportion." They come to East Side Reform Club.	70 $\frac{1}{4}$ men.
Whittier House, Jersey City, N.J. 174 Grand Street. Miss Cornelia F. Bradford.	Yes. No.	1894.	4 6 months.	5 men. 5 women.	4 men. 4 women.	Over 400	"Not very many men." Young men for clubs and classes.	40 6 men.

In above a dash indicates "No answer furnished."

Denison House.— "Investigation of Domestic Service in Relation to Employment Bureaus," Miss Mabel Sanford, not published. Report of Relief Work in connection with Citizens' Committee, Winter 1893–94, Helena S. Dudley, published in *Quarterly Journal Political Science*, Philadelphia. "Investigation of Amusements of the People," Miss Maude Mason, not completed. "Investigation of Diseases Peculiar to Certain Trades," Katharine Pearson Woods, to be published in quarterly publication of American Statistical Association. "Investigation Tenement House Conditions," Miss Ada Wolfolk, not yet published.

Hull-House.— "Sweating System," Illinois Bureau of Labor, 1892, Florence Kelley. "'Slum' Investigation," United States Department of Labor, 1893, Florence Kelley. Hull-House Maps and Papers, T. Y. Crowell & Co., Residents Hull-House. "Food Investigation," United States Department Agriculture, Miss Hunt. "Nation's Cooking," United States Department Labor, Miss Hunt.

Title and Location of Settlement. Name of Present Head.	*In what lines, educational, civic, social, industrial, charitable, have you obtained the most useful results for your neighborhood?*	*Sociological investigation or economic study,— its character, when and where published, by whom done?*	*Are any fellowships provided, and for what purposes of work or study?*	*What attitude does settlement take toward religious teaching? Have you any religious services for the neighborhood? If yes, what are they and by whom attended?*
South Park Settlement, San Francisco. Mrs. Marie C. Schermerhorn.	Educational and social.	None.	None.	No religious services.
University of Chicago Settlement, Chicago. Miss Mary E. McDowell.	Social.	Agent of Bureau of Charities is resident, gives records to settlement.	One for general settlement work.	No religious services.
University Settlement, New York. James B. Reynolds.	Civic.	Investigation as to sweating system in district; two years ago first investigation as to unemployed; special evidence to aid governor's Tenement-house Committee. Work done by different residents appears in magazines and various articles.	None.	None.
Welcome Hall, Buffalo, N.Y. Mary E. Remington.	See note.	None.	None.	Sunday-school, also gospel service, for children on Sunday night, and one for adults. Nearly whole neighborhood attend: 400 children at Sunday-school; at meetings 250 children, 200 adults.
Westminster House, Buffalo. Emily S. Holmes.	Educational and charitable; have work-room.	None.	None.	No religious services.
Whittier House, Jersey City. Miss Cornelia F. Bradford.	"About an even result in educational, social, industrial, and charitable."	Some work sociological and economic, but not yet published.	——	No religious services.

In above a dash indicates "No answer furnished."

Philadelphia College Settlement.— "A Study of Dietaries," Miss Amelia Shapleigh, published by C. S. A. "A Settlement's Share in the Recent Campaign," Katherine B. Davis, published by American Academy Political Social Science, Philadelphia, No. 150. "The Changes of Population in East End of Seventh Ward," in preparation, Katherine B. Davis.

Welcome Hall.— "There are so many men out of work in our section that we took up the relief of the district; and I get them work, and take their money, and support the families, and lay up all I can besides. Last winter there were 87 families who were getting a dollar a week from the city, and in just a year we were enabled to get them all off the city but 8. Most of these men were drinking men, and their families were begging from door to door. 30 of these men have gotten all out of debt, and have a bank account. One man has $50 saved. Last month, March (1896), I had $1,224 of their money to use for them."

IV.

The Insane.

THE CHRONIC INSANE POOR.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

In presenting the twenty-third annual report of the section on insanity, a larger number of speakers has been enlisted than on some former occasions. Not only will there be papers presented on the subject assigned by the committee,— namely, "The Chronic Insane Poor,"— but other subjects of equal importance will be considered. The care of the chronic and acute insane will be presented and discussed by advocates of different methods. State and county care will also be presented by advocates of both systems, and there will be a paper on the care of the criminal insane.

The separation of the chronic insane from the acute is a question which is under discussion in several States, and one which must be dealt with in the near future in many States. The consensus of opinion of the members of this Conference will undoubtedly influence further legislation.

Samuel Bell, M.D.,
Chairman of Committee.

CARE OF THE CHRONIC INSANE, NEW YORK.

BY GEORGE O. HANLON.

The State of New York, which is generally conceded to be one of the most progressive States in the Union in all matters pertaining to its charities, has continued to keep up with the great advance that is being made in the care of the insane; and, while, perhaps, all that has been desired has not been attained, the work is going quietly

and efficiently forward, and even greater results than now hoped for may be the outcome.

The development of the present system, that of State care, is an interesting chapter in the history of New York State, being divided, as it is, into three distinct epochs, each being nurtured and fostered by the most celebrated alienists of their respective periods.

Governor Throop, in his annual message to the legislature, in January, 1830, called the attention of the people, through their representatives, the legislators, in very pointed terms, to the neglect and privations to which the insane were then subjected in the poor-houses where they were confined, and concluded in this manner: "No restoration can be had under any such circumstances. Indeed, the instances are not rare of persons becoming incurable maniacs by these injudicious means." As a result of this message, the Assembly of that year directed its Committee on Charitable Institutions to consider the matter, and report on the advisability of making further provision for ameliorating the condition of the insane. No action was taken on the report of this committee; and for six successive years this matter was called to the attention of the legislature, an equal number of reports were made, and yet no action was taken. All other means having failed to bring about the long-desired object, the State Medical Society took it in hand, presented a memorial to the legislature, praying for a suitable State asylum for the insane; and that year the first act was passed, providing for the establishment of the New York State Lunatic Asylum at Utica. By the establishment of this asylum the first step was taken in recognition of the principle of State care for the insane. The work was pushed to rapid completion, and opened for patients in 1843. The basis and burden of appeal for aid in establishing this asylum was to afford relief to the wretchedness, neglect, and abuse which so notoriously prevailed in the almshouses, jails, and other abodes of the insane; and yet, at this early date in the history of the State care for the insane, the relief afforded was indeed limited. The number of insane in almshouses remained practically unchanged; and, it might be said, the very class for whom the asylum was created were discriminated against, for the act which organized it made no extended provision for the chronic insane, establishing it simply as a hospital or curative institution, preference being given to recent cases, and authorizing those in authority to declare all persons under treatment

two years or over incurable, and, if they so desired, return them to the almshouses or other places of detention, to abolish which the asylum was created. No one will question for a moment the injustice of such a decree; for are there not many who recover after many years' confinement? And was it not impolitic for the State to recognize an arbitrary limitation to the curability of insanity?

On account of this recognition, of an imaginary pathological condition that does not exist, the terms "chronicity" and "incurability" soon become synonymous; and the use as such has been encouraged by continued relegation of the so-called incurable insane from hospitals to poorhouses or other places of custody, without hope of further intelligent observation or treatment. However, this class was not long left without a champion for its cause and rights; for any one who has read the appeals made by Miss Dix to the legislature, at various times, must agree they were the most eloquent and pathetic ever made in behalf of a suffering humanity. Although she suggested a plan of relief, no further action was taken or relief afforded.

From the various counties of the State there met in convention in 1855 the superintendents of the poor, who, realizing their inability to properly provide for this class of insane, appealed to the legislature, asking relief for the suffering and pauper insane. As a result of this appeal, successive committees were appointed and successive reports made of investigations; and yet the poorhouses were overrun.

In 1864 Dr. Willard, then secretary of the New York State Medical Society, was authorized by an act of the legislature "to investigate the condition of the insane poor in the various almshouses, insane asylums, and other institutions where insane are kept." The facts gathered and the report made presented the condition of the nearly two thousand chronic cases as most "deplorable." This report backed by the governor, the memorial of Miss Dix, the previous reports of the various senate commissions, were parts of a continuous movement, culminating in the creation of the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane. It took its name from the author of the report, and not only changed the policy of the State in regard to the care of the chronic insane, but departed from the established custom of linear construction in its buildings. At the time much unfavorable criticism was aroused, and a prognosis of failure was made. However, experience has proved the practicability of the

plan; and the principle here originated has been extended and adopted by other institutions.

Thus we see the first State care act give way to the second, and we see the beginning of a more humane and broader policy in the care of the chronic insane. But the end did not come for a quarter of a century, when the third and last State care act went into full operation. From this beginning this policy of State care for the insane grew rapidly in favor, and was strengthened by subsequent legislation; for soon additional provision was made for the acute and chronic insane, and we see springing up in various parts of the State and pushed to rapid completion new asylum buildings, until 1893, when we find accommodation made in State hospitals for every insane person then confined in almshouses. Thus, after an agitation which continued many years, the legislature in 1890, by the enactment of Section 126 of the laws of that year, passed what is now known as the State Care Act, and which opens to us the third and last epoch in the history of the State's care of its acute and chronic insane.

In its practical effects this act abolished all county asylums. It repealed the barbarous statute of 1842, which recognized a legal distinction between the acute and chronic insane. It removed the stigma of the word "chronic" from the Willard and Binghamton Asylums. It placed all hospitals upon an equal footing in this respect, and provided that their operation thereafter should be conducted with reference to the cure of all, and not a part of their inmates. Thus we see, for the first time in the history of the State, the law recognized the possibility of a cure of all its insane, and declared that never again should any of them be abandoned to incurability.

New buildings on a less expensive scale have been added as needed to the existing hospitals, in order to carry out this principle, and thus enable each district to provide for its own chronic insane. All the hospitals have taken on this character, and an agitation of the question of returning to the old system would find a small following.

The means of amusement, recreation, and employment, are practically the same in all the State hospitals. The time, patience, and ingenuity of the officers are taxed to afford means of relieving the monotony and tedium of ward life. Schools are now conducted in

most of the hospitals, and they are found a valuable addition in connection with other remedial agents.

Until a recent date the matter of occupation as a remedial agent in the treatment of insanity was too little valued or appreciated. At present, however, it is receiving the attention which it demands; while the work done and the means provided for occupation in one hospital is simply a repetition of what is being done in each of the others. It is not necessary to present any tabulated forms, but simply to mention a few of the industries already established,— upholstering, shoemaking, laundry-work, printing, painting, carpentering, brush-making, book-binding, sewing, knitting, weaving, and the following of agricultural pursuits on an extensive scale.

Since the abolishment of the almshouses as custodial homes for the chronic insane, the tendency has been toward enlarged freedom and liberty for the individual; and for some time there has been in operation in the various hospitals the open ward system, and now during certain hours of the day the doors of the wards are left open for the unrestricted egress of patients, and to those who inspire confidence, and show their ability to restrain themselves within prescribed limits, paroles are given, either general or limited to the hospital grounds. Airing courts are a matter of history, and the result of their abolition is highly satisfactory. The patients appreciate the greater liberty allowed them, and efforts to escape are less frequent.

To meet the modern requirements for medical care and successful treatment of patients suffering from acute and chronic mental disease, the hospitals of New York were never better prepared than at present. The rigid enforcement of a civil service examination gives a guarantee of good medical attainments, and reduces the influence of politics and favoritism in appointments; and now that training schools for nurses have been established, and are in successful operation in all the hospitals, there is insured to every patient the most skilful nursing throughout the course of their mental affliction or during any intervening physical ailment.

In closing this brief and imperfect review of the system for the care of the chronic insane in New York, I cannot do better than quote Dr. Wise, one of New York's most advanced and progressive alienists:

The evolution of our present hospital system of treatment and care of the insane has been progressing for two decades with quite an unchecked growth. To those interested and engaged in

the care of the insane for that period, in full or in large part, it does not require the acuteness of perception recorded of the warder of the Scandinavian gods, the subtlety of whose ear was so great that he could hear the grass growing in the meadows and the wool on the backs of the sheep, to have this patent to them. Any claim which crowds these changes into the past few years is not properly endowed. Jack and the bean-stalk cannot be emulated in the conversion of our great institutions from indifferent to good; but the matured results must have had time for their growth and ripening, and the vital forces must have operated internally, and have not been manipulated from external agencies.

The problem is ever before us; but we have profited by the experiences wrought by time and labor, and have endeavored to apply this experience to the ever-changing conditions that are with us. How well we have succeeded in doing this we ask you to judge; and, if those of you who are not familiar with our system in the care of the chronic insane will avail yourselves of an opportunity to visit our hospitals, every opportunity will most cheerfully be accorded for forming a clear and intelligent opinion.

COUNTY CARE OF THE INSANE UNDER STATE SUPERVISION.

BY JAMES E. HEG,

MEMBER STATE BOARD OF CONTROL OF WISCONSIN.

Certain facts have been established beyond a doubt in what is known as the "Wisconsin system," or county care of the insane under State supervision. They rest upon no hypothesis nor course of reasoning. They have gone into history, and no attempt is made by any fair-minded or well-posted man to contradict or question them even. It is upon this that we must rely rather than upon suppositions or theories or wishes and the like.

Disclaiming any professional knowledge in the care of the insane, it will be all the more necessary for me to confine my statements entirely to facts that I know and things I have seen. I shall speak only of the county care of the insane as understood in Wisconsin.

Whether its success in Wisconsin is due to special laws or other causes not found elsewhere I do not feel qualified to say; but its success has been demonstrated by fifteen years trial, and the system is now a permanent institution of the State, which few would want to change.

The most humane and generous care of the insane compatible with that economy rightly due to the tax-payers is the problem vexing the philanthropic mind nearly everywhere to-day; and, if the county care as exemplified in the Wisconsin system is not a complete solution of the question, it comes nearer to it than any plan yet devised and proved.

This system rests upon two principles, economy and humanity,—the true basic principles for the care of all our defective, delinquent, and dependent classes. The present Wisconsin method of managing the insane was devised sixteen years ago by the State Board of Charities, now called Board of Control. In 1880 that board found in jails and poorhouses scattered throughout the State 533 insane crowded out of the hospitals, though the large Northern Hospital had been built only six years previous. The State hospitals were so overfilled that a new case could be received only by sending away an old one. Reports from many States show that the same condition of affairs exists to-day in nearly every State in the Union. Insanity increases much more rapidly than the ability of the people to pay for the erection of the expensive and pretentious palaces in which from 500 to 2,700 unfortunates can be herded, and which cost from $1,000 to $2,500 per capita for the accommodations provided. Legislatures generally find so many needed avenues for the people's hard-earned money that they cannot be blamed for not realizing as acutely as those who have immediate care of the insane the great increase of people with minds diseased. In every State is heard the urgent cry for more hospital capacity; but, alas! in how few of them is the cry heeded and relief given!

In the report of the Indiana Conference of Charities for 1895 the statement is made by Dr. S. E. Smith, in an argument for the State care of the insane, that there are about 700 insane in that State "worthy of hospital care and treatment, yet denied this aid because the State has not made its accommodations keep pace with the needs." In a recent report of the Ohio Board of Charities the statement is made that in November, 1895, there were 1,422 insane in the

county infirmaries or poorhouses of Ohio, the condition of whom was reported as truly pitiable. From a late report from New Jersey, made by the able secretary of the State Board, Mrs. Williamson, we notice that 189 insane are kept in almshouses; and a loud call for a reform in this line is made. The report of nearly every State we have been able to examine is of similar character or even worse, and this shows that the State care of the insane does not mean the care of *all* the insane.

The condition of the 533 insane found in jails and poorhouses by the old State Board of Charities in 1880 was deplorable in the extreme. But the saddening record of inhumanity, neglect, and brutality, was in no wise different from that which could be told by any of you who are at all familiar with the care of the insane crowded out of the hospitals and asylums into jails and poorhouses. Raving maniacs were found in cells of jails, where they had spent months; women were found literally in pens, with no beds but loose straw; others were in cellars and basement cells or chained to staples in the walls. The record is indeed sickening; but is it worse than can be seen even now in many States where the State care of the insane is the policy?

The original intention of the Board of Charities was to provide for the 533 only, or rather to provide for the surplus insane who could not be cared for in the State hospitals. But the idea soon developed into the present system, which fifteen years has demonstrated to be eminently satisfactory. To-day Wisconsin has over 4,000 insane, and not one of them is in a poorhouse or jail. And, what is more, every insane person in the State is cared for. Can any other State say as much?

The law under which the Wisconsin county asylums for the chronic insane were organized was passed in 1881, and was entitled "An act to provide for the humane care of the chronic insane not otherwise provided for."

It, in brief, provided that such counties as provide for their own chronic insane, *under such rules as the State Board of Charities should prescribe*, on the properly verified certificates of said board to the Secretary of State, should receive the sum of $1.50 per week for each person so cared for.

The chronic insane only are provided for in these county asylums, while the hospitals are kept for the acute cases entirely. More than

2,700 chronic insane are now being cared for in the 23 county asylums, and fully as well cared for as in any State institution in the country. To have cared for these by the State would have required buildings that would have cost $2,000,000. To have obtained that immense sum from the legislature would have been almost impossible, and, if possible, would have entailed heavy burdens on the people already deeply taxed.

For each person cared for in our State hospitals the county to which he belongs pays $1.50 and his clothing bill to the State. For each inmate of a county asylum the State pays the county $1.50. It will thus be seen that a county caring for its own insane really gets $3.25 a week in what it saves and what it receives.

$3.25 a week is about as low as most State institutions in the country are able to care for their chronic insane. Very few, counting salaries, clothing, subsistence, fuel, and repairs, are as low even as this. The average weekly cost of keeping the insane in the county asylums, counting everything, is about $1.75, or an average gain of $1.50 per week for each inmate. Out of this gain the counties that have had asylums ten or twelve years have paid for their entire permanent investment in land, buildings, improvements, and repairs. In other words, the people have paid no more than they otherwise would have had to pay for the care of these insane in State institutions, yet have been able to save enough in twelve years to pay for their entire investment in handsome buildings, large farms, barns, and the like. As a matter of economy, could any better showing be made than this?

But some one says, "You must starve your insane, to be able to make the weekly average as low as $1.75." By no means. I have visited nearly all of these asylums at meal-time; and I believe that the inmates are fully as well fed as in any State asylum for chronics in the country, if, indeed, not much better fed. I have with me statements showing the dietary established in each county institution, which I shall be glad to have any one examine. I have verified the statements made in these papers, and know that the facts are as represented.

Nearly all of the 23 asylums have a common dining-room, with seating capacity for all the inmates. With the kitchen adjoining, the food is served warm and in good condition. The tables of the dining-room are covered with cloth, and in season are graced with

flowers. The walls have pictures; and, in general, the room is the cheerful and pleasant apartment that it is in the ordinary home. Waiter girls, neatly attired, attend to the wants of the patients, and see that every one has all he wants. Few homes have a more ample variety, more abundant supply, and better cooked meals than one finds always in these county asylums. Indeed, the inmates live as well as the average well-to-do American citizen, farmer, or mechanic.

How is it that this can be done for $1.75 per week or less? In the State hospitals the cost per patient for wages and salaries is from $75 to $100 per year; while in the county asylums, with no expensive corps of officers, the average cost is about $26.50 per capita.

In the State hospitals, for subsistence the expense is about $65; while in the county asylums, the inmates being almost all employed in some productive work, raising to a great extent the food consumed, the expense is but a trifle over $27 a year for each inmate. In some of the county asylums the inmates make all of the clothing, shoes, etc., used; and in all of them the women's clothing is made.

The county asylum farms contain from 80 to 500 acres of choice land. Such of the inmates as are able and willing to work — and a large percentage are both — help to raise the greater amount of the food consumed; and this necessarily reduces the cost of the subsistence. And in these farms lies the secret of the beneficial results that are manifested in the county asylums. Occupation is found, if possible, for every inmate not entirely bed-ridden, with the result that the demented are roused from their stupor, the violent become calm and quiet, the filthy become cleanly, and the physical condition of a large proportion is decidedly improved.

In nearly all of these asylums are hospital rooms for the sick, but there so few are ill at any one time that I have never yet seen any of these hospitals in use as such. A small bedroom off from some ward is all that is necessary, and is better when one is sick, because more homelike and cheerful than the larger hospital apartment.

But it is not alone that the system is so economical that it is so well liked, but because it is the most humane plan yet devised, and has accomplished results not dreamed of by the originators. In the first place, it permits the energies of the larger State hospitals to be devoted entirely to the cure of the curable,— a consideration that must not be ignored. These hospitals are not weighed down by the

care of a large number of unimprovable cases, but are purely and wholly hospitals for the new cases of insanity, in the fullest sense of the word.

Speaking of the condition in the Indiana State care institutions, Dr. Smith said in his paper before referred to : —

> The overcrowded wards prevent early and prompt admission of new cases. That delay in the treatment of the acutely insane, under the most favorable surroundings, is harmful, and diminishes the chances of safe recovery, will be denied by no one. Our first duty is to the curable insane, and nothing should be omitted looking to a restoration to health and useful citizenship.

On that principle we are working in Wisconsin. In the work that is being done in its State hospitals Wisconsin takes great pride. We invite comparison with that wrought in any other State for the scientific and progressive interest in and investigation of the problems of practical psychiatry, and in the results upon the mind diseased.

The insane are committed first to the hospitals. So long as there is any hope that hospital treatment can benefit either the mind or the body of the patient, he is kept at the hospital ; but, when it is felt that there is no hope for his recovery under existing conditions, the patient is transferred to the county asylum nearest to his home and relatives. The superintendent of the hospital and the physician certify to the Board of Control that the patient is eligible and suitable for transfer as being probably incurable. The Board of Control then issues orders for his transfer. Notice of the transfer is sent by the superintendent of the hospital to the relatives of the patient, who are free to visit him at the asylum at nearly all times. One of the real benefits of the system is that it educates the masses in the care of the insane, in that it brings this unfortunate class closer to the people. All of these asylums have a large number of visitors, some having as many as a hundred a day at times. All of them have been obliged, in self-defence, to forbid Sunday visits ; but at other times there are few days that do not bring some friends and relatives to the inmates. This constant influx of visitors prevents the abuse or neglect of inmates, even if there were a disposition in that direction.

We hear much from the State care advocates about the proverbial

stinginess of the county boards in making appropriations for these asylums. But, as a matter of fact, there has been no cause for complaint in Wisconsin.

The State Board of Control is the only medium through which a county can get any money from the State treasury; and, if this board does its duty, there will be no trouble with the county authorities.

The State Board of Control is compelled by law to visit and inspect these asylums at least once every ninety days. Frequent visits are made without notice and at all times of the day. If the county authorities fail to properly care for the insane in any county asylum, the State Board can, and undoubtedly would, immediately transfer the insane in that asylum to some other institution, or it would withhold the payment of State money to the asylum until everything was arranged to the satisfaction of the board. The superintendents of these asylums are very proud of their particular institution, and all seem to be deeply in love with their work. They consult the State Board often, and I have never found one who was not glad to receive official visits of inspection.

As a rule, the counties have been liberal with their appropriations for all purposes, and have often given more money than is needed. The State Board and the local boards have worked in the greatest harmony, and suggestions of the State Board are acted on with cheerfulness and alacrity. The local trustees are in nearly every instance the most prominent men in the county. They have the respect of their fellow-citizens in a marked degree, and all of them take special interest in the work of these asylums. They know every inmate and the circumstances of each case. Their hearts are in the work, and they give valuable and splendid service to the cause of humanity.

There is considerable strife among the counties as to which shall build the next asylum needed, and applications are before the board at all times. The board first grants permission to some county to build an asylum, limiting the capacity of the same, generally to 100 or 125. Then all plans for buildings are submitted to the board for approval, and changes are made in accordance with the suggestions of the board. Some of the newer asylums are beautiful structures, finished in hard wood, with an abundant supply of water, lighted by electricity, and heated by steam. It has often been noticed, however, that, the nearer to his normal condition the patient gets, the

better is the result. The majority of the inmates come from very poor homes, and to keep them in the palaces built for the insane in many of the States does not benefit the patients unaccustomed to such splendor and luxury.

The more homelike the buildings and rooms are, the less formality and restraint, the better the inmates get along, and the greater the chances appear for their recovery. Quite a number do recover. For the year ending March 1 of this year there were 38 recoveries; while fully 100 were absent on leave, visiting their old homes. More than 60 per cent. of the entire number of inmates were on parole, and allowed to go about the farm without an attendant. Less than 1 per cent. were under restraint at any time. The doors are wide open all the day, and but few patients are kept in the wards.

Considerable stress is laid by the opponents of this system on the necessity of medical attendance. We go on the broad theory that there is nothing further that medical treatment can do for the diseased mind. All that can be done in the hospitals has been done. The physician is needed only for the ordinary and usual complaints of a similar number of normal people. A physician is appointed for each institution. He visits the same at regular and stated intervals, usually once or twice a week. In an emergency requiring the immediate services of a physician, he can be called by telephone in most asylums, and respond to a call in from fifteen minutes for the nearest to an hour for the farthest. Out of a total of about 2,800 there were 145 deaths for the year ending March 1. Is the death-rate at the State care institutions any less than this?

So far as I can learn and so far as my observation goes, the amount of medical treatment which the chronic insane receive at the State care asylums is limited to an autopsy, and such treatment of physical infirmities as is always found in any large body of humanity, whether in or out of an asylum.

There can be, indeed, no question that with occupation for nearly every patient, with almost perfect liberty, open doors, no restraint of any sort, with general dining-room, home comforts of all kinds, and that personal individual attention absolutely essential to the insane, there is a decided improvement in the mental as well as the physical condition of at least four-fifths of all those who are sent to these asylums. The secret lies in the plain fact that the insane are

treated as human beings. The life of a patient in the county asylum is freer and less artificial than in the hospital. He is near to his people, if they wish to see him. He has larger liberty and more labor. The simple life and healthful work of the farm induce vigor of muscle and tranquillity of mind. The little remnant of intellect that each one has left is busied with the petty cares that each day brings. And thus in comparative serenity and peace the flying years go by, until one day the "beautiful angel of death" sets the clouded spirit free.

Allow me to add the testimony of one or two well-informed gentlemen who have visited our county asylums, and studied the system. Hon. J. R. Elder, a member of the State Board of Charities of Indiana, said in a paper to this Conference: —

On a visit to Wisconsin, I learned how they care for their insane. That was a new development to me, to see one hundred insane people in one building, men and women taken from the poorhouses and State hospitals, in charge of one male and one female superintendent, doing all the work of the house and a large farm, with no doors locked, no resident physician, coming and going as they pleased, as contented and happy as they could be in their condition. Wisconsin has accomplished what other States must do. More than half of the present inmates in our State hospitals could be cared for in this way,— better for the harmless insane, much better and cheaper for the State.

So great authority as F. B. Sanborn, of Massachusetts, who has made a full and thorough study of this question, said to this Conference in 1892: —

I make the assertion, and I challenge any one to prove the contrary, that the State of Wisconsin comes at this moment nearer to the ideal standard of providing for every person the treatment best adapted to his needs than any State in the Union. I have studied this matter for years, have watched and examined the Wisconsin system, and have repeatedly stated (and it has never been disapproved) that the insane of Wisconsin are better provided for in all the essentials of treatment than the insane of any other State.

In order to settle this question, however, I would herewith urge this Conference to appoint a committee to visit as many of our twenty-three county asylums as may be possible, talk with the inmates, examine into the dietary, the work and daily life of these

institutions, and make a report of their investigations to the next Conference.

The State Board of Control of Wisconsin will do all in its power to make such investigation complete and thorough, and will aid this committee in every possible way. Is not the duty of this Conference clear?

SPECIAL TREATMENT OF THE INSANE IN PRISONS.

BY DR. JULES MOREL, OF GHENT, BELGIUM.

The 25th of May, 1891, is a memorable date for all charitable persons taking a cordial interest in questions of criminality. Mr. Jules Lejeune, Minister of Justice, then inaugurated a medico-psychological service in the Belgian prisons, and appointed three alienists for this work.

It will not be useless to give here the principal rules of this service. The prisons are divided into three districts. Each alienist has to serve in nearly ten prisons. The alienists are advised by the governors of their districts when the conduct of a prisoner seems abnormal; and, without delay, the doctors have to see and examine the prisoner, and to make afterward a report upon the case.

If the prisoner is certified to be insane, and in such a way that he cannot be kept in prison without prejudice to his mental health or for the security of the establishment, the doctor makes a certificate to send the patient to a lunatic asylum.

The alienists also in their respective districts make medical psychological examinations each time they are required by the Minister of Justice. After each examination and in addition to the report to be sent to the Minister of Justice, they report briefly in a case-book the results of their investigations. For each prison there is also a case-book. The alienists eventually mention in it the special cautions to be taken for the prisoner, the nature of his supervision, the regimen, the treatment prescribed, etc.

The alienists must take notice of the *criminal case-book* of each prisoner under their care. The staff of the prison also give them,

concerning the same prisoner, all information they judge necessary for their own sake and in the interest of their examination.

They may even ask the Minister of Justice, if they want it, for the judicial case-book of the prisoners under their care.

They may not utilize for scientific work the information and documents they note down during the examinations, except with the approval of the Minister of Justice under whose authority they act.

Every three months the alienists in their respective districts make a general inspection of all prisoners condemned for more than six months and who have been punished several times in a short period, and also those condemned for murder, manslaughter, arson, or outrage on decency, and who have been committed since the last inspection. They have not to examine the accused before trial. Each prisoner who has attempted suicide must be submitted to the alienist. Cases of delirium tremens and of epilepsy belong to the regular doctor of the prison.

The governor of the prison, when giving notice of a supposed insane prisoner to the alienist, mentions in his letter the name and the Christian name, the date, nature, and cause of his condemnation, the date of his commitment, and the date of his liberation. He will also mention the different peculiarities of the prisoner noticed by his staff.

At the same time that he gives notice to the alienist concerning a convict supposed insane the governor writes to the local authorities (Burgomaster), in order to obtain information concerning the antecedents, in a mental point of view, of the prisoner and his family, following this formula: —

A. *Information as to the mental antecedents of the prisoner.* 1. During the time he was in your commune did he show ideas of suicide? 2. Did he give other signs of mental disorder? 3. Has he been ill? (Mention especially the wounds of the scalp, nervous diseases, fits.)

B. *As to the mental situation of his family.* Do you know members of his family who have been insane? (If yes, mention the asylum where they have been patients or who have attempted suicide or were intemperate.)

A copy of the information obtained from the local authorities is given to the alienist. The governor also gives him an abstract of the register of the moral history of the prisoner submitted to examination.

If the alienist does not reside in the town where the prison is, the usual physician of the prison will help the alienist, taking care that the medical prescriptions of the latter are complied with strictly.

I think this abstract of the rules is of importance, in order to know the value of the medical-psychological service in the Belgian prisons. So far as I know, the same service has not been organized anywhere else; and a five years' experience enables me to-day to present briefly its results. It may not be possible to make one understand the high value of such an organization, and I cheerfully admit that in the beginning I had not the opinion of it that I have now. Every day new observations confirm the necessity of a similar service in all prisons. One must be a medical-psychologist, and likewise a philanthropist, in order fully to understand what enormous good and blessing can be done by the presence of an alienist among the insane prisoners. Moreover, the sooner the cases come under observation, the easier and more successful is the treatment. The proportion of recoveries mentioned will prove this.

The organization of the service of mental medicine in the Belgium prisons had been preceded by an investigation in the central prison of Louvain of about three hundred criminals. The examination of these criminals disclosed a dozen men suffering from mental diseases, whose real state of mind had been unacknowledged; and these were sent to our hospital for the insane.

The service of mental medicine in our country has afforded very great advantages. All prisoners whose conduct is neither regular nor reasonable, and whose state of mind seems perfect to the governor of a prison, are submitted to a medico-psychological examination; and after this the doctor reports each case to the Minister of Justice. His reports finish with the recommendations which he judges necessary.

In case the alienist finds among prisoners a man afflicted with mental trouble, he examines the nature and prognosis of the case, and may submit him to treatment if he thinks the patient susceptible of getting better or recovering after a short time. This arrangement, deserving of the highest praise, has led to the happy result that *forty-eight men in two hundred and seventy-eight cases* afflicted with insanity have been cured without passing through our hospital for the insane, and that *twenty-nine* other men quite harmless or susceptible of speedy recovery have been kept under observation.

The insane prisoners kept under observation in the Belgian prisons are the object of very particular care; and the prescriptions of the alienist are observed to the letter, so that it can be shown that they are as well treated as if they had been shut up in a special hospital.

It is easy to see the great importance of this humanitarian measure. The criminal is already stained by his proved criminality. Often he is abandoned by all his family and acquaintances, and those who are left who know his antecedents are not often disposed to put confidence in him. This is generally so in our country. If the criminal has the misfortune to become mentally troubled, if, as it is generally done in the prisons of the world, the doors of the prison are only opened to put him in a lunatic asylum, and he is fortunate enough to return to health, and consequently to recover his liberty, his reputation is spotted twice. There is little doubt it will be known that besides the prison he went through a lunatic asylum, and thus every hope of getting an honorable situation in society becomes considerably diminished.

The prison books are unknown to the public. Only the governor and a few guardians who have been in the secret of the situation of those who suffer or have suffered from mental disorders, and no authority besides the Minister of Justice, know how the prisoner has spent his time behind the bolted doors. The criminal who has suffered from insanity during the time of his detention must feel happy to think that the disease through which he has passed is unknown to the world. He is not tormented by the hard thoughts that would oppress him, had he been kept both in the prison and the lunatic asylum.

The great value of this advantage, morally and materially speaking, cannot be denied, as very often the insane prisoner will continue his work during the time of his disease, and the government, as in many other countries, retains a certain part of the earnings of the criminal. But, if the prisoner is sent to a hospital for the insane, the government, first of all, loses this advantage. Then it is to be considered that the daily cost in a lunatic asylum is always higher than in a prison. Finally, in Belgium there is more work in the prisons than in the asylums, and, work being a part of the moral treatment in insanity, the insane put into an asylum lose this great benefit.

65 prisoners out of 278 cases examined were sent to a hos-

pital for the insane, including some prisoners found insane from the day of their detention, others whose mental health was incompatible with the regimen of the prison, and some who were unable to live at liberty at the expiration of their sentence.

If we compare the number of prisoners declared insane and sent to a hospital with those 48 who have had the good fortune to be cured during their detention, or with the 29 who have remained under observation because in their actual situation they did not trouble the regular system of the prison, or else remained in the hope of recovery in the jail itself, we cannot deny that these results are very advantageous, and deserve to be known to those who take an interest in the work of charity.

Charity seeks not to harm any one. Charity understands that everything, humanly possible, should be done, not only to improve the prisoner during his incarceration, but afterward when at liberty. I have already mentioned this last point. Let us add to this great charitable act that the insane prisoner has been, so to say, surrounded with a certain mystery, that generally the prisoner from his malady did not make known to his family the mental disorder through which he has passed, and his parents, children, brothers and sisters, are quite ignorant of this sad complication. Still more, of course, do his friends and the public remain ignorant, and fortunately so; for how often would it happen, had his illness been known, that thoughtless, uncharitable people would profit by this sad situation to injure or compromise his family in one way or another?

The more one thinks of the advantages resulting from a medico-psychological service in the prisons, and of the necessity of its existence, the more one must affirm that this is a necessity, and that all prisons ought to have a competent medico-psychologist, able to intervene as soon as possible, and combat or relieve the evil of insanity from its beginning.

The medico-psychologist has special modes of treating his insane patients. He soon gains the confidence of such patients as still keep some reason, and this number is not small. In many cases he becomes their confidant, and this confidence enables him to treat them sometimes with astonishing success.

Not rarely does it happen that he obtains their confession of criminality,— avowals that magistrates have been unable to draw from

them. Many of these patients know the purpose of the doctor: they understand the protecting hand stretched out to them. And I certify that this feeling of confidence enormously favors the mission to be performed,— the treatment of the insane in the real meaning of the word. The moral power of the alienist in the prisons is of the highest importance.

Besides the 67 insane criminals sent to hospitals for the insane, besides the 48 criminals cured of their mental disorder during their detention, and the 29 prisoners kept under observation on account of certain symptoms of mental derangement, the remaining 134 prisoners who were the object of a medico-psychological examination furnished a first series of 66 prisoners that offered not the slightest symptom of real insanity. In these 66 there were 14 who feigned madness. In a second series of 56 prisoners there was no mental trouble, but a certain degree of physical degeneration. The other prisoners, 12 in number, were epileptics.

The prisoners who feigned insanity nearly all had one aim in doing so. Many feigned the mental disease in the hope of being sent to a lunatic asylum, where they know the treatment is milder and more agreeable than in prison, where sometimes they may take walks outside, where they are more free, with more comfort, where, if they work, they may spend their earnings at leisure. Some others feigned madness in the hope of gaining the commiseration of the prison managers and obtaining favor in this way.

The high proportion of other prisoners certified sound of mind, whether degenerate or not, or even epileptics, proves that Belgian prisoners are the object of greater attention than formerly. Whereas before the organization of the medico-psychological service many convicts, in consequence of their strange conduct, were considered as mutinous and often punished as such, at present this sort of punishment is reduced to a minimum. The governor of the prison must judge the nature and the cause of the undisciplined and strange conduct, and in case of doubt he refers to the medico-psychologist.

The service of mental medicine in the Belgian prisons has certainly stimulated the attention and the zeal of their governors. Doubtless their observation of the convicts has become more scrupulous; for they well know that, in case the prisoners are put at the disposal of the alienist, they are obliged to report not only what has

been observed concerning the supposed insanity, but also on the duration of the special treatment. This attention from the keeper and the governor has a moral effect upon the patient, because he generally understands that medical care will be given immediately.

It may not be necessary to add that the specialist from time to time finds an insane prisoner whose mental disorder has existed from the time of or even before the crime. In all such cases a special report is sent to the Minister of Justice.

CARE OF THE CRIMINAL INSANE.

BY DR. O. R. LONG.

Many assume that insanity of the same form must in all cases be the same, and require similar treatment. This is true in a measure, but there are forms of mental alienation that are characteristic of the criminal insane and of infrequent occurrence among the insane of the non-criminal class. But this portion of the subject will receive here only the limited attention required in reference to its being a factor in calling for the special care of this class.

It is the opinion of the writer that the criminal insane should be cared for in asylums devoted to the care of this class only. Before stating reasons for this opinion, it may be well to describe those who should be included in this classification: —

1. Those who become insane while serving sentence for any crime.

2. Those who have served in a penal institution, and subsequently become insane.

3. A portion of those who commit crime, and are found to have been insane at the time of the commission of the act.

Among the reasons calling for the separate care of this class of insane are the following: In many cases of the convict insane, environment is the chief cause of the mental condition. This is particularly true in cases of melancholia, a common form of insanity among first offenders. Environment in these cases includes quarters that are by no means cheerful, a rigid discipline, little or no oral commu-

nication with any one except those who have them in custody, and much else that pertains to what is considered good prison discipline, which need not be detailed here. As these conditions are often important factors in the causation of the unsoundness of mind, change of environment would at once commend itself to any one conversant with the conditions. This could of course be obtained by the transfer of the patient to any hospital devoted to the care of the insane. But a moment's reflection will demonstrate the impracticability of this, as the ordinary asylum is not constructed securely enough to insure the safe custody of the patient; and in many cases this is by no means the least important subject for consideration. This would preclude the transfer of those serving a long sentence; for, however insane they may be, the criminal appears to preserve much of his cunning. In some cases there need be no apprehension in this direction during the height of the attack, but consideration must be given to the fact that in the curable cases at some stage during convalescence the patient can exercise all the faculties of his mind as perfectly as at any time previous to the attack. And in the cases of the incurable, when the acute symptoms have subsided, and before decided dementia has resulted,—and this may embrace a comparatively long period,—the patient is often capable of great ingenuity in the way of planning an escape. Then, too, it is readily seen that an attempt to care for the convict insane in an institution devoted to the care of the non-criminal class would result in an injustice to the latter in the direction of restricted liberty. To insure the retention of the convict insane, most careful surveillance is requisite; and the open-door system with its benefit as a curative measure is out of the question. Hence the liberty of all is necessarily restricted, that the elopement of the criminal may not occur.

While change of environment is important, not only from a humanitarian point of view, but that pensioners upon the public may be lessened, the safe custody of the patient is by no means the only reason nor the most important one calling for the separate care of this class. The average criminal through atavism, direct heredity, or primary degeneration, is morally defective; and he should be segregated. Obscenity, profanity, and most vicious practices are characteristic of this class, and to a degree of which the inexperienced can have no conception. Details of these particular abnormalities would convince the most sceptical that no other reasons need be adduced to call for separation of the criminal class.

The entire life of the average criminal has been such that he regards himself as something of an Ishmaelite. With every man's hand against him and his hand against every man's, with him arbitration is an unknown method of settling disputes, except that enforced by the courts. Hence violent assaults are far more common than among the non-criminal insane; and these are not confined to the period of greatest mental impairment, but are hardly less frequent among the convalescing.

In defining those who, in my opinion, should be included in this classification under the third division, I included a portion only of those who are charged with crime, and are found to have been insane at the time of the commission of the act. Careful consideration of the previous history of these cases will often result in the conclusion that the offender, though insane when committing the act with which he is charged, is unquestionably a fit subject for treatment in an institution devoted to the care of the criminal insane. In many of these cases moral perverts of the lowest order will be found, and for this reason should not be associated with the non-criminal class.

The States that have made provision for the care of the criminal insane, separate from the care of the non-criminal class, are Illinois, New York, and Michigan.

It may not be inappropriate to add that, in my opinion, a hospital for the care of this class should not be located in the immediate vicinity of a prison,—*i.e.*, on grounds immediately adjoining a prison,—and in construction the buildings should be as free from prison features as possible. These have a bearing on the curability of patients.

V.

The Epileptic.

THE CARE OF EPILEPTICS.

BY WM. PRYOR LETCHWORTH, LL.D.

The praiseworthy example of some European countries in making special provision for epileptics has within a few years past been followed by some of our American States, and the deep interest taken in the movement by philanthropists promises to extend the reform so as to include in its beneficence vast numbers of sorely afflicted people.

At the National Conference of Charities and Correction held at Nashville in 1894 it was my privilege to speak of the special provision that had then been made for epileptics, and it has been thought best on this occasion to note the progress that has been made in this country during the past two years in caring for this long-neglected class.

Ohio, the pioneer State in this humane work, has made very creditable progress. There were in the Hospital for Epileptics at Gallipolis on the 27th of April last 650 patients, 387 males and 263 females. Some radical changes have been made in the plans and policy adopted at the outset for the development of the hospital. To the original estate of 105 acres have already been added 125 acres; and it is intended to secure still more land in the future, either adjoining or as near as possible, for the establishment of a dairy farm and other agricultural pursuits, and erect at various places thereon cottages having accommodations for from 10 to 15 patients each.

So far as completed, the institution consists of 11 stone cottages, with capacities for from 50 to 75 inmates each; a main kitchen building; one dining-room building, with a capacity for 300; and

a boiler-house, with electric light plant attached. The buildings proposed to be erected this year, which will be placed at a considerable distance from those already constructed, consist of 2 cottages for the insane, with accommodations for 100 patients each; a laundry cottage for 75 patients; a school-house, industrial shops, and an additional dining-room. These are practically all the buildings that will be erected upon the grounds at present owned by the hospital. Dr. Rutter, the manager, says: —

We have here established the nucleus for a large colony. The buildings which are now completed, although close together, will furnish homes for all the artisans necessary, hospital care for those who are incapacitated for work, accommodations for imbeciles, idiots, and other helpless classes, for children whom it may be necessary to educate and instruct in trades, places for worship and amusement for the entire community, and a general centre for administration.

We have been paying a great deal of attention to the investigation of the causes and nature of epilepsy. We have a well-equipped laboratory, and are supplied with scientific investigators, whose time and attention are devoted entirely to observations of the malady. We are not prepared at present, however, to make any public statements concerning the scientific work done, although we have met with much encouragement. The improvement of the patients has been far beyond what we anticipated. I think the percentage of recoveries will reach between 5 and 10 per cent., although we are not able as yet to make a definite statement, since we do not consider a patient recovered until at least two years have elapsed since the last seizure.

The repeated recommendations of the Board of Lunacy and Charity of Massachusetts have at length been adopted by the legislature of that State. An act was passed June 5, 1895, providing for the establishment of a special epileptic hospital, and authorizing the issue of bonds for $160,000 for the purpose of carrying out the enterprise. The property formerly occupied by the Primary School at Monson has been set apart as a foundation for the hospital, under the title of the Massachusetts Hospital for Epileptics. "Any adult person, not a criminal, who is subject to epilepsy, provided such person be neither an idiot, an inebriate, or violently insane," may be received into the institution in the manner prescribed by statute. The trustees of the hospital are also authorized to receive and detain therein as a boarder and patient any person subject to epilepsy

who is desirous of submitting himself for treatment and who makes written application therefor, but whose mental condition is not such as to render it legal to grant a certificate of insanity in his case. No such person shall be detained for more than three months after having given written notice of his intention or desire to leave the hospital. The statute requires that every patient admitted shall be reported, with full particulars, to the State Board of Lunacy and Charity.

The affairs of the institution are directed by a board of seven trustees appointed by the governor. Two of the members are physicians, and two of them are women. The superintendent is Dr. Owen Copp, formerly first assistant of the Taunton Lunatic Hospital. The site selected is a desirable one; and the farm, consisting of 234 acres, affords opportunity for outdoor employment of the patients. Some of the old buildings have been disposed of at auction; and new ones, conforming to a general plan now preparing, are being erected. It is not expected that patients can be received for about two years.

The capacity of the hospital will be for 200 patients. The statute provides that on its opening all epileptics other than criminals, idiots, inebriates, or those violently insane, who have been committed to any lunatic hospital, may be transferred by the Board of Lunacy and Charity to the hospital. When the board has reason to believe that any epileptic of the class described is confined in any almshouse or other place and deprived of proper treatment or care, whether such epileptic is a public charge or not, it may cause the transfer or commitment of such person to the hospital. The board is required to transfer from the hospital to some State lunatic hospital or asylum such inmates as may be found to be violently insane. Patients able to pay for their support, or having kindred bound by law to maintain them, are required to pay the charge for their care at a rate to be fixed by the board of trustees. Other inmates having legal settlements in Massachusetts shall be paid for by their places of settlement, and such as have no settlement in the State shall be paid for by the Commonwealth.

The New Jersey legislature of 1895, by a concurrent resolution of the Senate and General Assembly, provided for the appointment by the governor of a commission consisting of five persons — three physicians and two laymen — to make a careful investigation of the

needs and condition of epileptic persons throughout the State, and to report to the next legislature. The commission was specially charged to visit the State institution for epileptics in Ohio and that in New York. Acting upon this report, the legislature of 1896 passed an act providing for the establishment of a colony on land belonging to the State; but for economic reasons the bill was vetoed by the governor. Professor S. O. Garrison, who was largely instrumental in founding the work of caring for the feeble-minded in New Jersey, was the secretary and one of the leading spirits of the commission referred to.

The State of Pennsylvania has made no special provision for adult epileptics, although strenuous efforts have been put forth to create such. Epileptic children are admitted to the Pennsylvania Training School for Feeble-minded Children at Elwyn, where they occupy separate departments, one for boys and one for girls.

The Pennsylvania Epileptic Hospital in Philadelphia, which was originally established as St. Clement's General Hospital, has, by recent action of the court, been merged with the Pennsylvania colony farm for epileptics, under the title of the Pennsylvania Epileptic Hospital and Colony Farm. A farm has recently been purchased at Oakbourne in Chester County, upon which buildings are about to be erected out of a gift of $50,000 made for this special purpose by Henry C. Lea.

The institution known as the Passavant Memorial Homes at Rochester, thirty miles from Pittsburg, was opened for patients in June, 1895. The three buildings occupied are pleasantly situated on a hillside overlooking the city of Rochester. The affairs of the corporation are controlled by a board of twelve trustees, and its immediate management is confided to an order of Deaconesses of the Lutheran Church. A farm superintendent operates the farm. Adults of both sexes and children are received. The endeavor is made to conduct the work on the same benevolent principle as at Bielefeld.

A movement to establish a home for epileptics in Maryland originated in 1892 with the Waverly Circle of the King's Daughters and Sons of that State, and reached fruition in 1894, when an old country home at Port Deposit, picturesquely situated on a bluff overlooking the Susquehanna River, was given by Mrs. Woodward Abrahams and her children to the King's Daughters and Sons for the establishment of the Silver Cross Home for Epileptics. This is a small

institution, but is doing a good work, and promises to extend its usefulness. The home is sustained almost wholly by private contributions.

At the Maryland Asylum and Training School for Feeble-minded, situated at Owing's Mills, there has just been completed a comfortable cottage for epileptic children, which was built out of a private gift of $5,500 made for this particular object. The cottage is heated by hot water, has school and play rooms, and is capable of accommodating 29 inmates. This institution receives inmates from all the counties in the State. It is governed by a board of visitors appointed by the governor, and is insufficiently supported by State appropriations. Dr. L. Gibbons Smart is the medical superintendent.

No special provision has been made by the State for epileptics. The need for such is pressing. Mr. John M. Glenn says that "encouragement is found in the fact that the public conscience is awakening gradually to this need, and we hope to see proper provision made in a few years."

Dr. William Francis Drewry, superintendent of the Central State Hospital of Virginia, has long been deeply interested in the epileptics of that State; and through his persistent efforts a bill was passed by the legislature, appointing a commission to investigate and report upon the needs of this class and the duty of the State toward it. Mr. Drewry is a member of the commission, which is now engaged upon its report; and from it we may hope ultimately for the establishment of a colony for this class.

It is gratifying to be able to state that there is now in process of erection at the Central State Hospital at Petersburg a separate and distinct building for colored insane epileptics of the State.

In Michigan a new institution has been established at Lapeer, called the Michigan Home for Feeble-minded and Epileptics. As yet only cottages for the feeble-minded have been erected. An appropriation was made in 1895 for one cottage for epileptics, but the money is not available until 1897. The home, when completed, will care for epileptics separate and apart from the feeble-minded. The institution will be under the control of one board and the superintendency of one physician. It will be so planned as to effect a complete classification of the inmates in different buildings. Insane epileptics are at present cared for in the State asylums for the insane.

The Minnesota State School for Feeble-minded has an excellent building to accommodate 150 women and girls of the custodial class. In this building a ward is set apart for the exclusive use of epileptics, under the care of day and night nurses. This arrangement is regarded as a great improvement on the old plan of mingling the epileptics with the feeble-minded children. It is intended soon to open a similar building for 150 boys, and to extend the same system to that building. This plan is regarded, however, as but a temporary one.

The number of epileptics in the California Home for the Care and Training of Feeble-minded Children at Eldridge has increased from 100 in 1894 to 150 at the present time. A detached building, called the Manse, in which are domiciled a section of epileptic boys, is situated on rising ground, commanding a fine view of mountain range and extended valley; and a well-made carriage drive and a substantial plank walk lead from it to the main building of the home. The Manse is but one story in height, and the north and south wings are connected to the centre building by wide glass corridors. The entire building is heated by large open fireplaces, well guarded by heavy screens.

Epileptics in California suffering from violent attacks and considered dangerous are committed to the insane asylums in the same manner as the ordinary insane, and no provision is made by the State for adult sane epileptics. The landed estate of the home at Eldridge comprises 1,700 acres, and there is in contemplation the establishment on this tract of an epileptic colony. It is claimed that the site is an ideal one for this purpose, and that the work need not interfere with that of caring for the feeble-minded.

The act establishing the Craig Colony for epileptics in New York State, which passed the legislature in 1894, was so amended in 1895 as to increase its managing board from five to twelve members, one from each of the eight judicial districts of the State, and one additional from each of the four districts in Western New York, where the institution is located. The board is at present composed of nine men and three women. The statute authorizes the admission of sane dependent epileptics of all ages, who are residents of the State and supported at public expense. Such are designated State patients, and each county is required to contribute $30 per annum for clothing for each patient it sends to the institution. Other epileptics, if ac-

commodations exist, are admitted as private patients, subject to such charges as may be thought just by the superintendent. Epileptics becoming insane are transferred to the State hospitals.

During the year 1895 one of the groups of buildings on the estate of 1,800 acres was remodelled and put in order for the reception of 200 patients. Two complete water systems were introduced — one from springs on the hills, for drinking and culinary purposes, and another from Kishaqua Creek, for protection against fire and for sewerage purposes. The buildings are warmed by steam, lighted by electricity, and supplied with rain, or shower, baths. The legislature has appropriated a sufficient sum this year to remodel the other of the two original groups of buildings formerly occupied by the Shakers, and to erect a hospital building. Hereafter it is proposed to build cottages to accommodate from 10 to 15 patients each, for the better classification of the inmates. The first patient was received in January last. There are about 100 now in the colony, and new cases are constantly arriving. The sexes are about equally divided.

It is a noteworthy fact that, with but a single exception, every patient admitted has increased in weight and improved in health, having gained from 3 to 16 pounds.

In the dietary vegetables and fruit predominate. Soup of some kind is supplied six days in the week; and either fresh fish, eggs, mutton, or beef, is supplied daily. Pork in every form, and cabbages and cucumbers, are prohibited. Two ounces of butter and all the milk desired are supplied each day. The food is carefully prepared on scientific principles by an expert cook, who has passed a civil service competitive examination. Rich pastry is avoided, the puddings are plain and light, and the food is not highly seasoned. As soon as practicable after admission, each patient's teeth are examined, and, if need be, diseased cavities are filled with composition, "old snags" extracted, and the mouth made healthy. As a rule, the patients are in far better spirits and more cheerful than on arrival.

With very few exceptions all are willing and desire to be employed; and on this point Dr. Spratling holds very decided views, believing labor suited to the capacity and habits of the individual to be the best of remedial agents and outdoor employment particularly desirable. After the gardening season began, he organized a company of women and girls for garden work, to serve under the direction of a

nurse who acts as instructor and labors with them. Some of the women are engaged in the kitchen, store-rooms, sewing-room, and laundry. In the various operations of farming and caring for stock a considerable number of men are employed. An accurate account is kept of every hour's labor and what is performed, the exact duration of each attack and its peculiar characteristics, and the number of attacks under each kind of occupation, in order to determine what kind of employment is best for the patient.

Under the medical, dietetic, and labor treatment the number of attacks has been in some cases reduced from 4 and 5 a day to 1 a day, and later to intervals of several weeks, and in some instances from daily attacks to intervals of several months. Dr. Spratling is of the opinion that three years should elapse without an attack before a patient can be pronounced cured.

Thus far the colony has met the expectations of its founders, managers, and, so far as I can learn, of all interested in it.

Although considerable attention has been bestowed upon the subject in some of the remaining States of the Union and in Canada, there has not yet been, so far as I can learn, any practical results from these efforts. In some of the States no public provision exists for epileptics, whether sane or insane, adults or children, unless they require confinement for the public safety; in others, both sane and insane epileptics are committed to institutions for the insane; in others, they are sent to county poorhouses or almshouses, where their condition is deplorable. Great numbers throughout the country are intermittingly aided by outdoor relief or suffer from lack of any care suited to their peculiar needs. It surely behooves the members of this Conference to bring the attention of their representatives in their several legislatures to the necessity of providing proper means for the care and treatment of a class appealing so strongly to our sympathies.

VI.

The Feeble-minded.

PERMANENT CUSTODIAL CARE.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE CARE OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED.

BY ALEXANDER JOHNSON, CHAIRMAN,

SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIANA SCHOOL FOR FEEBLE-MINDED.

In accordance with the expressed desire of the Executive Committee of this Conference, and also with the courtesy due from a chairman to the members of his committee, I have endeavored to make the paper which I am now to read the report of the whole committee, and not merely that of a chairman.

To attain this desirable end, I addressed a letter to each member of the committee some months ago, asking for suggestions as to the form and substance of this report and for answers to several questions. Among these questions the most important were two, namely: What departments of the work of those in care of the feeble-minded have had least attention at the sessions of this Conference during the past five years? and What subject in this connection most needs calling to the attention of the great body of the charitable public, whom we who are engaged in the work, hope to reach through the National Conference?

I wrote at the same time, and in similar terms, to a number of other persons, not members of the committee, but who have been for many years active members of this Conference.

While waiting for the answers to come, my own mind was not idle. Not only did I think earnestly of the report I was to read to-day, but I took part in one State Conference of Charities, and read the proceedings of others at which the care of the feeble-minded was

discussed. The more I thought and the more I read, the more did one subject appear the most important. In fact, the sense of its gravity has grown upon me, until not only does it seem the most serious of the many subjects that solicit the attention of those concerned in my specialty, but, even when I compare it with the many urgent and grave questions which this Conference considers, I cannot think of one more urgent, more grave, and the neglect of which will have more serious consequences of social and economic injury to this great Commonwealth.

This conception of vast and overshadowing importance has been re-enforced by a fact which at first caused me some surprise; namely, that every one of my correspondents, both the members of the committee and the others I have mentioned (except a few who declined to express an opinion on the ground that they lacked the necessary basis of information), agree in thinking that this subject which to me appears so grave and so urgent is the one topic connected with the care of the feeble-minded which most needs the consideration of the general public, especially of those who are influential in the making of laws and the choosing of methods. This important subject is the one announced as the topic of this report; namely, "Permanent Custodial Care."

Concerning this let me quote from a few of the many letters received in answer to my questions.

From a member of a State Board of Control: —

> Pound hard on the idea that the State owes it to posterity to minimize the burden of the congenitally unfit, and that the only way to do this is to make adequate provision for the training and custodial care of the feeble-minded.

From a member of a State Board of Education: —

> The custodial department, its right to the perpetual guardianship of all the feeble-minded, that none of them may marry and reproduce themselves.

From the Superintendent of a State School for Feeble-minded: —

> The asylum and custodial departments, from the standpoint of permanent detention; and that those belonging to the school department, when dismissed from thence, be classified as custodials, carrying out the idea thus that permanent detention should be advocated

for all classes. Further, that there is more danger from dismissing the high-grade children than from the lower or medium classes, for the reason that the probability of their propagation is greater than of the other classes.

(My experience as an inspector of poorhouses does not confirm this last view, except as to the male sex. It is too terribly true that the prospect of propagation is equally certain with all the female idiots and imbeciles who are outside the State's custodial care, no matter how low or how high their grade may be.)

From another superintendent: —

I do feel that preventive work among the feeble-minded should be kept prominently before the general public.

From an officer of this Conference of many years' standing: —

I think that the first duty is to deepen the sense of the responsibility of the State to exercise custodial care. The more I read and study, the more I am convinced that the custodial care is the prime matter. I think it is the duty of the State Secretaries to create a commotion in their respective States, till the cases are all gathered in, and the supply of imbecile babies from imbecile mothers is cut off.

Having decided, helped by the letters I have quoted and many more, that the need of permanent custodial care of the feeble-minded was the topic which it was the duty of my committee to present the most strongly at this year's Conference, I next turn to consider what has been said here upon the subject in past years.

The care of the feeble-minded was first made the work of a regular committee for the Eleventh Conference, which was held in St. Louis in 1884. Every year since then there has been a committee report. Twelve reports and sixteen other papers have been presented; and most of the leading specialists of this country, as well as the most experienced and best informed members of this Conference, have been heard in the discussions. In preparing myself to write this report, I have read these reports, papers, and discussions, as well as similar documents read at State Conferences. As I read, I became impressed with the fact that no single topic connected with the feeble-minded has received such earnest setting forth in the past as the one I have chosen for our consideration to-day.

Our loved and lamented leader, Dr. Kerlin, made the first report; and his paper is one of the classics upon the subject. He made very clear the necessity of the custodial care of the large majority of idiots and imbeciles, not only as a preventive measure of idiocy and imbecility, but for the diminution of crime, pauperism, and insanity. He says: —

How many of your criminals, inebriates, and prostitutes are congenital imbeciles? How many of your insane are really feeble-minded or imbecile persons, wayward and neglected in their early training, and at last conveniently housed in hospitals, after having wrought mischief, entered social relations, reproduced their kind, antagonized experts and lawyers, puzzled philanthropists, and in every possible manner retaliated on their progenitors for their origin and on the community for their misapprehension? How many of your incorrigible boys, lodged in houses of refuge, to be half educated in letters and wholly unreached in morals, are sent into the community, the moral idiots they were in the beginning, only more powerfully armed for mischief? And pauperism breeding other paupers, what is it but imbecility let free to do its mischief?

And further: —

The State, adopting as its policy the protection in institutions of the defective classes, acquires a right of inquest into the causes generating this tremendous burden on the thrifty tax-payer, who must be protected from the rapacious social ills which deplete his own strength.

In 1885 Dr. Kerlin again made the report, and gave a valuable summary of the progress of the different institutions at that time. Again he urges the need of permanent care, and closes his report with the well-known paragraph: —

The future of this work contemplates far more than the gathering into training schools of a few hundred imperfect children. The outcome of this philanthropic movement will establish the dependence of the defective classes on the strong arm of a paternal government. Here and there, scattered over the country, may be villages of the simple, made up of the warped, twisted, and incorrigible, haply contributing to their own and the support of the more lowly. Cities of refuge in truth, havens in which all shall live contentedly, because no longer misunderstood, nor taxed with exactions beyond their mental or moral capacity. They shall go out no more, and they shall neither marry nor be given in marriage in these havens dedicated to incompetence.

Dr. Kerlin, at St. Paul in 1886, once more presented the report; and again was the case for permanent State control strongly stated. Dr. George H. Knight, in a paper on epileptics at the same Conference, showed the intimate relation of cause and effect between epilepsy in the parents and imbecility in the offspring, declaring that the marriage of epileptics is a crime, and that only by custodial care can it be entirely prevented.

In 1887, at Omaha, Dr. Powell made the report; and again the case for the "Men and Women Children" was given to the public in language both forcible and true. Here also was a notable address by Rev. M. McG. Dana.

In 1889, at San Francisco, Mrs. Brown, of Massachusetts, again stated the need of permanent care, but suggested that the village almshouse *ought* to be a sufficiently safe and comfortable place for the adult who has a claim on the town. At this Conference there was a very full debate; and, perhaps because the professionals were largely absent, it was participated in by many of the strongest men of the Conference. As the debate passed from lip to lip, the need of permanent care was shown more strongly, until at the close of the debate there was but one opinion in the Conference on the subject; and the State of California was warmly congratulated that it had purchased a beautiful ranch of 1,600 acres for its training school and asylum.

In 1890, at Baltimore, again Dr. Kerlin read a paper on "The Moral Imbecile," which, to judge by the discussion that followed, convinced every one not only that there is such a thing as moral imbecility, but that the State has not done its duty to its citizens until the moral imbeciles are recognized, and are segregated in safe, permanent, custodial care.

For the Conference of 1891 the name of the committee was changed to that on "Custodial Care of Adult Idiots." The report, by Dr. Fish was followed by a paper by Dr. Knight on the "Colony Plan," and the two papers brought into the clearest light the proposition that the road to custodial care is by way of the training school. In the debate that followed nothing elicited more interest and commendation than New York's Custodial Asylum.

In 1892, at Denver, the "Colony Plan" was the title of the committee, and again Doctors Knight and Fish were the chief speakers; and, although the debate centred on the particular institution plan

known as the Colony, yet the urgent necessity of custodial care was shown both in the papers and the debate, and, in fact, was evident as causing the need for the Colony Plan.

In 1893 was held the Twentieth or Historical Conference; and Dr. Fernald, of Massachusetts, gave us the history of the care of the feeble-minded. He sketched the beginnings of the institutions in this country, which at first were schools for the brightest and most improvable classes only, the so-called custodials being rejected as scholars or inmates. He showed how strong at first was the belief that the majority of the so-called improvable feeble-minded could be educated and trained, and finally discharged as self-supporting members of the community. He then told how this belief slowly changed with experience, until it became the different one that perhaps a majority of the whole number may be made self-supporting, under the guardianship of the institution, but that few can wisely be discharged to their own direction and control. He showed how the demand for the care of the custodial cases gradually became stronger and stronger, so that more and more of them were admitted to the training schools, until they now are nearly as numerous as the so-called improvable imbeciles. He said that the general belief has now come to be, as was stated by Dr. Kerlin ten years ago: first, that all or nearly all idiots and imbeciles are susceptible of some improvement; second, that perhaps 25 or 30 per cent. of the whole number may be made self-supporting in the institution; third, that perhaps half of the remainder can be taught to do something for themselves and others; fourth, that not more than 5 or 10 per cent. can ever be safely discharged from the institution, and hence that permanent custodial care is the imperative need, not for as now 6,000 to 7,000 in this country, but 65,000 to 75,000, perhaps in another decade 100,000; and that no one thing to be done by the government has in it more promise of the truest philanthropy, the purest Christianity, and the wisest financial and social economy than the permanent custodial care of the feeble-minded.

In 1893 was also held the International Congress which was an outgrowth of the National Conference, and here Doctors Knight, Rogers, and Wilmarth were the essayists; and, again, the chief point made was the need of permanent custodial care.

In 1894, at Nashville, the committee's name had changed again; and it appeared as the "Committee on Feeble-minded and Epilep-

tics." This year's report was triply memorable. First for a paper by Miss Alice J. Mott, of Minnesota, full of accurate knowledge, wise philosophy, and tender sentiment. I cannot forbear quoting her concluding paragraph: —

> Sentiment is inseparable from such work as this; that is, quickened feeling, tenderness, patience, self-forgetfulness. These characteristics, as they develop in the individual who devotes himself to the care of the witless, must develop, though slowly, in the national temper of a State which assumes maternal care of helpless, irresponsible innocence.

The next memorable paper was one on Manual Training, by our friend Mrs. Barrows, whose absence we all deplore to-day. It was accompanied by an exhibition of handiwork from institutions of the feeble-minded, collected, arranged, and shown with rare skill and judgment. The third paper was by Mr. Letchworth, of New York. It told of what is doing abroad and at home for custodial care of epileptics, ending with a description of the then newly planned Craig Colony at Sonyea, N.Y., a permanent home for the epileptics of that State.

To come down to the last National Conference, that of 1895, Dr. Knight again had charge of the committee and its discussion. More than at any previous Conference, the papers and debates were directed to this subject, which, as I write and think about it, seems ever more and more important. After rereading the papers and the debate following, I feel that the attention of the Conference to the custodial care of the imbeciles, especially the females among them, has been cumulative, and that in New Haven the last word was said. That what now awaits us is to talk no more, but to *do* the thing that is so plainly indicated.

I have rehearsed in this brief way what the National Conference has heard and said in the past, to call your attention as strongly as I might to this most urging and crying need, and also to emphasize the fact that the committee has nothing new to offer. The consensus of opinion as to the general work has now for these thirteen years been almost unanimous, both as to what should be done and how it should be carried out. It is true that there has been some slight difference in opinion as to details, yet I believe that on few subjects represented at this Conference has there been such unanimity even in detail.

Let me try to state as briefly and comprehensively as I may what the consensus of opinion is to which I have alluded.

First, the task before us. The Eleventh Federal Census shows in round numbers 95,000 idiots and imbeciles in the country. The opinion of those best qualified to know the probable sources of error is that this number is under rather than over stated. A conservative estimate places those who, from their age, sex, and other conditions, need some good, wise, controlling care and guidance, at not less than 70,000. Of this number not quite 7,000 are under what we have been led to believe is the required degree of guidance and care. The remaining 63,000 are some in almshouses under good and careful management, where usually they simply exist at an expense to the tax-payer, at their best doing no harm. More are in almshouses where the management of them at any rate is neither good nor careful, and where they are doing mischief in many ways. Many are cared for at home by loving parents and friends; and many of these are under circumstances of heart-break almost inconceivable, a burden too heavy to be borne. Others are kept at home in altogether unfit surroundings, the objects of cruelty, abuse, and neglect. Many are wandering about in cities and village communities, corrupted and corrupting.

Further, we believe — and I now speak, and through all this report I am entitled to speak, not for myself alone, but for the committee I represent, and for many of the best informed members of this Conference — that these neglected imbeciles are or will be the mothers and fathers, not only of a rising or rather a falling generation like themselves, but of a larger number, not to be classed as idiots, but as insane, as paupers, as prostitutes, as defectives, as tramps, as criminals. We believe that this neglected imbecile population has been in the past and will be in the immediate future the source of a vast amount (some of us believe of much more than half) of that part of the citizens' burden which is devoted to the departments of Charities and Correction. We therefore believe that to segregate this great number, even if the cost should be as great per capita as it is in the most costly of our present institutions, would be a measure of financial economy to the Commonwealth.

But we take much higher ground than that of financial economy. We believe that it is our duty, that we are bound by ties of blood which we dare not repudiate, to care for these our weaker sisters and

brothers, to protect them from wicked men and from their own uncontrolled passions and impulses. We believe the mother State (and that means ourselves in our corporate capacity) has a duty to her helpless children, entirely independent and above the duty to protect the pockets of the tax-payer from their assaults,— that it is her duty to make their lives as harmless, as useful, and as happy as their condition admits, that it is her sacred privilege as well as her duty to gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost.

We believe that it is possible to do this heroic task of caring for and protecting the whole class of imbeciles and idiots, that some day it will be done, and that it will result, when that day comes, in making the social State safer, sweeter, and saner.

As to how it must be done, on this point we are also largely unanimous. I will state as succinctly as I can the opinion in which this committee agrees, and which is in most part the opinion of those to whom I have so often referred, the intelligent and well-informed members of this Conference.

First, we believe with Seguin and Kerlin, and Knight and Wilbur, and many more of our illustrious leaders and prophets of the new day, that, beginning with the training of the young (I quote the words of Seguin, speaking of those he taught and trained), "not one idiot in a thousand has been entirely refractory to treatment, not one in a hundred but has been made happy and healthy. More than 30 per cent. can be taught to conform to social and moral law, and rendered capable of order and good feeling, and of working like two-thirds of a man."

We believe that the way to begin in every State is with the children in the training school. The experience of forty years has shown, in the imbecile as in the normal person, that the young are more susceptible to improvement than the mature. Therefore, we would say to every State contemplating its share in this work, "Begin with your training school as a nucleus." Whether it would be possible at once to take into custodial care the present generation of imbeciles, and make 30 to 50 per cent. of them self-sustaining, may well be questioned; but few superintendents of State institutions for the feeble-minded doubt that, given room and opportunity, fully 50 per cent. of those received under ten years of age can be educated to self-support at maturity (note that I say self-support, *not* self-direction), and that of the other 50 per cent. more

than half may be taught to do something at least for themselves and others.

Beginning, then, with those who are children in years as well as in intellect, we would organize our training school so as to develop the whole being, physically, intellectually, and spiritually. Physical training means much, but chiefly good food and wisely adapted exercise. The shambling, unsteady gait must be changed to an erect and cheerful walk. The limp and nerveless or the all too nervous and jerky hands must be strengthened and steadied. The eyes must be trained to see, the ears to hear. The organs of taste and smell must be developed. Along with all this training, education of the intellect and of the emotions goes hand in hand. The exercises of the kindergarten are repeated and continued more or less all through the school life. In every form of exercise and instruction the order is from the larger, more obvious and simple, very slowly, to the finer, more delicate and complex. Not merely much repetition, but quantity of impression, is needful. The color blocks must be larger, the sounds more positive, the contrasts greater, than with normal children.

The school proper begins below or with the kindergarten, and for many it ends there: but for the better-grade children the school course ends in the shops. The industrial department where shoes, clothing, mattresses, brushes, tables, etc., are made, is the high school of the feeble-minded. Yet many who utterly fail in purely mental work, to whom the simplest mathematics is impossible, and even reading is above their power, can be taught to use their hands and fingers, and do simple mechanical work.

When the time comes that all has been learned that the school can teach, when progress is no longer made in mental work,— and that time usually comes and is plainly indicated,— then the graduate, having previously for a year or two spent half a day in the shops and half a day in the school, becomes a regular member of the industrial department or the farm or of the domestic brigade. Perhaps he has been employed for part of each day in the care of the weaker and more helpless of his own kind. Most touching of all the touching sights in the institution is to see the tenderness and patience exercised by a great, big, overgrown man-baby toward a tiny child-baby, when put into his care. Here is a place which the imbecile can fill, often as well as and certainly more willingly than

a hired helper. For the one thing that the feeble child must have, no matter how many so-called necessaries he can do without, is love from the one who tends him. With whatever defect, the capacity of loving is usually present, and must have its vent. The very need of some one to love, which in the outside world so often betrays the poor feeble-minded girl, in the institution may make her chief usefulness.

Among the many children admitted is a class which every schoolteacher has moaned over and worn herself out on. I mean the dullards who with no effort can be kept up with the class, but remain behind year after year. When these children receive the stimuli of our training schools, many of them respond, and become our bright scholars. After five or seven years of study, exercise, work, and play with us, they are often fit to go into the world as full citizens in every respect; and from this class come the few whom we expect to graduate and dismiss. For the really feeble-minded we have not this hope. We can teach them much, but one thing we cannot; and that is, good common sense and judgment. Horse-sense is born, and not made. For them we must have the villages of the simple, to use Dr. Kerlin's word.

I have said that, supposing the cost per capita of caring for all the feeble-minded of the nation were as high as that of our most costly training schools, it would be a paying investment to spend the money; but the truth is that the wise and common-sense care of these people is really very inexpensive. Their proper care would probably cost far less than their reckless no-care costs now. For the able-bodied and cleanly, even of those unable to work, it is but a trifle; while those who have been trained are now actually made so nearly self-supporting as to be surprising to those who have not considered it.

No institution publishes, or perhaps accurately knows, the comparative cost of its different classes of inmates. Suppose from a training school 25 per cent. of its inmates being graduates were detailed to the industrial departments or to help as care-takers. A correct way to estimate the per capita cost would be to divide the total maintenance in different proportion by the number of school and low-grade children, leaving out the older high-grade children as self-supporting.

In the institution of which I have charge, we have two divisions of

girls and two of boys above the school age, about 120 in all, whom we class as our industrial grade. Each of these does work enough to defray the cost of his own food and clothing. On our Colony Farm we have 43 boys. 20 are excellent workers, the other 23 are upper-grade custodials, principally occupied, at present, in helping to clean up some rough ground, but really doing very little work. The entire Colony pays its way with the product of the labor of the brighter boys.

I am quite sure that with sufficient farm land, and in connection with our present institution, the adult able-bodied imbeciles of both sexes could be kept in our State at a weekly cost of not more than $1 per capita in addition to what the farm would produce. The great advantage of keeping the adult custodial departments under the same general management as the training school is that the labor of the former can be used to better advantage in connection with the school than in any other way.

If my estimate is within bounds, the entire money cost of removing this dreadful stain from our nation would be, after an expenditure by each State of an average amount of less than half a million for lands and building, a maintenance fund of about ten cents per annum from each of the inhabitants of the United States.

How foolish is the action of the public in saving such a small amount at the spigot and wasting so profusely at the bung! Ought not this question to be made a burning one? Ought not every one convinced of these facts to cry aloud, and spare not, until the legislature of every State shall have the facts burned into their hearts and consciences, as they are now into ours?

Unfortunately, it is the superintendents of State institutions who are usually compelled to propose the extension of their work. And then they are accused of extravagance, of a desire to glorify themselves at the expense of the tax-payer. The truth is that they are the ones who feel most keenly the needs that they assert; and, if they do not speak, all will be silent.

No thought is more repellent than that of turning out to the mercy of a cold world, to fall as soon as they are tempted, these children of a larger growth whom the merciful and wise care of the training school has brought so near to the stature of a man. It is such a dreadful necessity that makes the superintendents more than any one else beg for permanent custodial care, that they may not see the

work of faithful hands and loving hearts go to wreck, nor feel that the labor of years has been wasted, and even worse than wasted. For those who again become degraded, after years of patient training have raised them from their low condition to one of comparative decency, suffer more than if they had never been raised from their first degradation. These thoughts, as well as that affection for the helpless ones which comes into the hearts of those whose care they have been, cause our teachers, officers, and superintendents to declare unanimously in favor of permanent custodial care for all the feeble-minded.

Fortunately, we have with us of late the Boards of State Charities, who more than any other public officers have the ear of the public. May we not hope that, in the words I quoted from a member of this Conference, "the secretaries will create a commotion in their States until the cases are all gathered in, and the supply of imbecile babies from imbecile mothers is cut off"?

FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS AS AN INHERITANCE.

BY ERNEST BICKNELL,

SECRETARY INDIANA BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES.

From the first generation of feeble-mindedness in any direct line of descent, we look back for explanation to complex influences which in themselves have no apparent relation to the result reached. For each subsequent generation of feeble-mindedness, in the same direct line, we find explanation in the feeble-mindedness of the parent. The intention at this time is to consider especially second and subsequent generations of mental deficiency, without endeavoring to grapple with the perplexing first causes.

No one, on first giving thoughtful attention to the prevalence of feeble-mindedness, but experiences a shock of surprise and horror at the facts which unfold before him. With every advance they grow more appalling. 95,000 feeble-minded persons in the United States: in Illinois, 5,249; in Chicago, 2,500; in Indiana, 5,568; in Indianapolis, 230; in Ohio, 8,235; in Cincinnati, 460; in Michigan,

3,218; in Grand Rapids, 160. Provision for only 6,000 of this great host in proper institutions, — poorhouses crowded, the ranks of vagrancy multiplied, vice and crime battening to satiety on helpless victims. From this knowledge springs the inevitable question, Can anything be done to prevent the perpetuation and spread of feeble-mindedness, and to remedy the evils arising from what already exists?

Before we can answer, we must obtain a knowledge of the causes and manifestations of feeble-mindedness, through investigations and comparisons. It is probable that only the slow remedy of long years of higher standards of living can reach the causes which produce the first generation of mental deficiency appearing in any family. But, if experience has demonstrated that there is danger of the first feeble-minded member of any family becoming the originator of a line of descendants characterized by the same defect, it would undoubtedly be possible to prevent such a result by denying to this person the opportunity to reproduce his kind. If, further, it can be proved that actually a large proportion of the feeble-mindedness of the country is inherited from feeble-minded parents, then the value of measures which will prevent such persons from becoming parents will be very great.

It has been with a view to determine whether a large per cent. of feeble-mindedness is inherited from feeble-minded parents that I have for the last two years been gradually collecting statistics bearing more or less directly upon this question. The work has been done simply as time could be snatched from pressing duties, and the opportunity has been lacking to trace out complicated lines of relationship or search for missing links. The families with whose histories I have dealt have been paupers in part or all of their members, and much of my information has been obtained from poor asylum records. Nothing in this work has been taken for granted. Absence of facts has in every instance counted against the strength of the showing made in the statistics. If no reliable information was obtainable about an individual, he was invariably counted of sound mind, no matter how strong were inferential reasons for believing him of feeble mind. The result of this policy has been the certainty that the actual facts, could they be fully known, would perceptibly strengthen the force of the statistics collected. Of generations now living, essential facts are usually to be had, if persistently

sought; of generations dead, reliable information is often impossible to get. No Boswell dogs the steps of the imbecile.

Something of the histories of 248 families have been recorded here. They are not clean cut, not properly rounded out. They begin in obscurity, come into view for a few years, and fall back into obscurity again. But the broken stories of their misery, their perpetuation of their own wretched kind, their demoralizing influence upon their fellows, their dragging down of the average of morality, intelligence, and physical development, are sorrowful beyond words.

The whole number of persons composing these 248 families is 887. Of the 395 males, 222, or 56.2 per cent., were found to be feeble-minded; and of the 492 females, 340, or 69 per cent., were feeble-minded. Of the 887 persons, therefore, 562, or 63.2 per cent., were mentally defective. It is to be noted that the feeble-mindedness among the females exceeded that among the males by 12.8 per cent. It is possible that this difference may be accounted for by the greater ease of tracing a history of feeble-mindedness in females, because the results of mental deficiency in them are usually more visible and far-reaching than in males. This is not offered as a sufficient explanation of the difference disclosed, but only as a suggestion possibly worthy of attention.

In 101 of the 248 families under consideration has been found a history of feeble-mindedness extending through more than one generation. These supply examples of the transmittal of feeble-mindedness from parents to child. In those of the 248 families in which only one generation of mental deficiency has been discovered the feeble-mindedness could not have been inherited from feeble-minded parents, and must have been the result of other causes, of which there may be many, but which time forbids me now to discuss. We have an opportunity, therefore, to determine by a comparison whether feeble-mindedness in children is more or less likely to result from feeble-mindedness in parents than from other causes.

If the percentage of feeble-mindedness in families where there is a history of this defect, running through two or more generations, is greater than in families in which feeble-mindedness is not inherited from feeble-minded parents, then the fair inference would seem to be that mental deficiency in the parents is that condition which is most certain to result in feeble-mindedness in the offspring. The 101 families in which more than one generation of feeble-mindedness was

found numbered 447 different persons. 86 families with 312 members had a record of feeble-mindedness in two generations; 12 families with 77 members had feeble-mindedness in three generations; while 2 families showed four and 1 five generations of this defect. Of the 447 persons in these 101 families in which mental deficiency was known to have descended from parents to children, 359, or 80 per cent., were found to be feeble-minded. In the remaining 147 families under consideration in this paper, in which feeble-mindedness has been found in but one generation, there were 440 different persons, of whom 203, or 46.1 per cent., were feeble-minded.

Thus we find that in families in which mental deficiency descends from parent to children the per cent. of feeble-mindedness is 80, while in those families in which feeble-mindedness is the result of all other causes the per cent. is 46.1. Other and more complete investigations must be made before these percentages can be accepted as reliable. Certainly, no other physical or mental weakness can show a hereditary transmittal in 80 out of every 100 possible opportunities.

It is worthy of note that this inquiry has once more emphasized the close relationship which exists between feeble-mindedness and those other defects of mind and body commonly regarded as hereditary. Of the 887 persons concerning whom the foregoing statistics were collected, 2.6 per cent. were epileptics, 3 per cent. insane, 8 per cent. blind, and 1.7 per cent. deaf and dumb. Compare these percentages with the percentages of the same defects in the normal population. Employing the statistics supplied by the Eleventh Federal Census, we find that in the United States in 1890 the insane composed $\frac{2}{10}$ of 1 per cent. of the population, the blind $\frac{8}{100}$ of 1 per cent., and the deaf and dumb $\frac{6}{100}$ of 1 per cent. Expressing the comparison differently, in 10,000 persons from the normal population we should expect to find 20 insane persons, 8 blind, and 6 deaf and dumb; while in a population of 10,000 belonging to families in which there is a strain of feeble-mindedness we should expect to find, according to the statistics here presented, 300 insane persons, 80 blind, and 170 deaf and dumb. Were this comparison known to be wholly trustworthy, it would prove that the causes which produce feeble-mindedness are only less terrible in their collateral effects. The constitutional weakness which permits the entrance of one of these ills seems to swing wide the doors in invitation to all the

others. But we are not ready to accept the statistics which have been presented as conclusive. The number of cases on which one side of the comparison is based is far too small to afford a substantial foundation for so important a verdict. Of this comparison I think we may safely say it is significant in the direction in which it turns our thought, and that it suggests fuller investigation by different persons in various parts of the country. It is to be noted also that the comparison here made is not breaking a new path of inquiry, but follows an old trail, well defined, and serves only to add a few more finger-posts to those already set.

In any discussion of feeble-mindedness it is hardly possible to avoid referring to the prevalence of illegitimacy among this class of unfortunates. It forces itself upon the attention of the investigator at every turn, and the fact very soon becomes patent that a large per cent. of all the illegitimacy occurring in the country is to be charged to those whose mental condition makes them partially or wholly irresponsible for the evils which they produce. In collecting the statistics above presented concerning 887 persons, there were found to be among them 186 cases of illegitimacy. That is, 21 per cent. of all the members of 248 families, in which a strain of feeble-mindedness was found, were known to be illegitimate; while the marriage bonds were so little regarded by a great many of the families that there is no doubt that the actual proportion of illegitimacy, could the truth be known, would be shown to be much greater than the 21 per cent. given. In reckoning the evils which are entailed upon society by feeble-mindedness, illegitimacy, with all the demoralization and degradation which accompany it, must be assigned a prominent place.

Did time permit, it would be of interest to refer more particularly to some of the families whose records have contributed to the statistics of feeble-mindedness and kindred evils which have been presented. A history of actual cases might convey a more vivid appreciation of the unhappy conditions surrounding and controlling the feeble-minded than is produced by the discussion of totals and percentages. I must limit illustration to the partial history of a single family.

In one of our Southern Indiana counties the poorhouse records have been preserved for thirty-five years. During that entire time one family has been represented among the pauper population. This

family's pauper record probably extends yet farther back; but, since the records of an earlier date have not been saved, the statement cannot be positively made. In the thirty-five years of which a record has been kept it is found that 30 members of this family have been inmates of the poorhouse. As most of them have remained years and some have lived in the institution almost continuously since the record began, it is a fact that an average of three or four, possibly five, members of this family have been in the poorhouse at all times for fully one-third of a century. Other members have been the recipients of outdoor relief, while a few have managed to "shift for themselves" in a half-civilized manner. I have been unable to determine, even approximately, the total number of persons in the family, even since the poorhouse record began; and links in relationship are here and there missing. The following fragment of history, which I have succeeded in compiling, is sufficient, however, to illustrate the subject under consideration.

One of the oldest of the family now living was born in 1823. He is feeble-minded. His first wife was feeble-minded. Four children were the result of this marriage, two sons and two daughters. All were feeble-minded. These children were named Mary, Margaret, Andrew, and George. The first wife died; and in his old age this man married a second time, his second choice being also a feeble-minded woman. Four children resulted from the second marriage, two of them feeble-minded; but no record of the mental condition of the other two has been found. The two daughters who were born to the first wife of this man were, as I have said, feeble-minded. Both are living to-day, and are inmates of the poor asylum. Neither has ever married. Mary has borne six or seven children. Two have been dead for years, and their mental condition is not positively known. Two daughters now living are in the School for Feeble-Minded; and a son, who died within a few years, was feeble-minded. A third daughter is feeble-minded, and is the wife of a feeble-minded man. They are not in the poor asylum, but live in a neighboring county, where they are given assistance by a township trustee. This couple has one child, of whose mental condition I have no information. The other sister, Margaret, has a daughter, feeble-minded and unmarried, and a feeble-minded son now in the School for Feeble-minded. This woman has also borne two other children, now dead, but both said to have been feeble-

minded. Of the son Andrew we have no record. He is dead, and probably died in youth. The son George married a feeble-minded woman, and a feeble-minded son was born to them. George afterward separated from his wife, and later married a second feeble-minded woman. Before marriage this woman had borne a feeble-minded son by a former husband and an illegitimate feeble-minded son by George. So far as known, every member of the family has been feeble-minded. At least ten members have been illegitimate. The history of this family is not closed. In truth, its productive power for evil is probably greater to-day than at any time in its history.

Again comes the question asked in the earlier part of this paper, Can anything be done to check or prevent? I believe we are prepared to answer, Yes. The feeble-minded which we have we must keep until they die, but they need not be allowed to bring other feeble-minded into existence. Prohibition would not check the operation of the first causes of mental deficiency, but it would stop the inheritance of the defect from parents similarly afflicted. Incomplete and inconclusive as the statistics which I have here presented may be, they certainly serve to demonstrate that a very large per cent. of feeble-mindedness springs from feeble-minded progenitors. Let a stop be put to this source, and the immediate cause of the greater part of the feeble-mindedness in the country to-day would, as I believe, be removed.

The fact that feeble-mindedness may be, and often is, inherited, supplies a solid foundation upon which to base restrictive and preventive measures. The knowledge should serve to give definiteness and direction to our work, and a gauge by which to measure results. It may not assist in preventing first generations of feeble-mindedness, but it proves that second and subsequent generations may be prevented by means within our control. Whatever the differences of opinion among investigators as to first causes or chief causes, or whatever plans may be proposed for reaching and remedying or alleviating the evil, I believe it a safe conclusion, and worthy of acceptation, that, while society is remotely responsible for the first generation of feeble-mindedness in any family, its responsibility for every subsequent generation of feeble-mindedness in the same direct line of descent is clear-cut and beyond question.

FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS AND RELATED DEFECTS, TOGETHER WITH ILLEGITIMACY, IN TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-EIGHT FAMILIES.

	Whole Number.	Feeble-minded.	Epileptic.	Insane.	Blind.	Deaf and Dumb.	Illegitimate.
Males	395	222	13	7	2	5	101
Females	492	340	10	20	5	10	85
Total	887	562	23	27	7	15	186
Families	248						
Average number of persons to each family	3.58	2.27					.75
Percentage of whole number		63.4	2.6	3	.8	1.7	20.9
Percentage of males	44.6	56.2	3.3	1.8	.5	1.3	25.6
Percentage of females	55.4	69	2	4.1	1	2	17.3

FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS IN FAMILIES CONTAINING TWO OR MORE GENERATIONS OF MENTAL DEFICIENCY.

Number of Generations of Feeble-mindedness in Each Family.	Number of Families.	Whole Number of Persons.	Number of Feeble-minded Persons.	Percentage of Feeble-mindedness.
Two	86	312	261	83.6
Three	12	77	53	68.8
Four	2	51	38	74.5
Five	1	7	7	100.0
Total	101	447	359	80.0

VII.

The Tramp Question.

THE TREATMENT OF TRAMPS IN SMALL CITIES.

BY J. W. BRADSHAW.

The terms of the subject assigned me preclude any consideration of the causes of, and the possible ultimate remedies for, the tramp evil.

Of immediate treatment, and of treatment under sharply defined limitations, I am to speak. Such treatment must, of necessity, be of the kind characterized by physicians as "local." It cannot be expected to produce any constitutional improvement. So long as the movements of vagrants are unrestricted, the tramp will find escape from any such treatment as that I am to consider by adopting the direction given to the apostles, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye to another." Under existing conditions, no method for the treatment of tramps in small cities can be, in any considerable degree, reformatory in its aim. Until some uniform, widely extended policy, covering a whole State or adjacent States, is adopted for the remedy of this evil, it is futile to attempt anything more than some immediate local relief. What I shall have to say will have reference principally to the operation of one system.

A few preliminary considerations are worthy of attention.

In the first place, it must not be forgotten that among the wandering beggars whom we designate as tramps are found men of two very different classes. . There is, first, the tramp, pure and simple, who, like the lily of the field, "toils not, neither does he spin," and who can be relied upon to remain true to this, his characteristic trait; and, second, the man of quite other disposition, who really desires employment, and who does gladly and faithfully any work which is provided for him.

In the fact that among vagrant beggars are men of both classes, and that it is by no means easy to distinguish between them, is to be found one of the chief difficulties attaching to the tramp problem.

Manifestly, these two classes of men call for wholly different treatment. The genuine tramp should be left to feel the pinch of hunger and cold till he will gladly work to provide for his necessities. No more fit word has been spoken concerning this class of men than the apostolic direction "that, if any would not work, neither should he eat." The man who is willing to work is entitled to sympathy and assistance.

The very first desideratum, therefore, in any system for the treatment of tramps, is some criterion for their classification. Given a system which, in addition to possessing this feature, should also prove efficacious both in excluding genuine tramps from any locality and also in providing temporary relief for the deserving, and the problem of *local* treatment would be solved. I am aware of but two methods which have been resorted to for the treatment of tramps in small towns. The first is that by statutory enactment. This provides for the arrest and imprisonment of vagrants. It is defective, first, in that it is undiscriminating. It treats all vagrant beggars alike, and, if enforced, often works injustice to the worthy unfortunates. Moreover, it is not efficacious.

First, because, instead of expelling tramps, it attracts them by providing board and lodging at public expense.

Second, because it cannot command the sympathetic support of the community. Instead of turning wandering beggars over to the authorities, citizens are much more likely not only to feed them, but also to assist them in evading the officers.

Furthermore, this system is attended with so great expense to the public that it is seldom rigorously enforced for any great length of time. If those committed for vagrancy under this system should be compelled to work ten hours daily at breaking stone or some other hard labor, one of the defects above mentioned might be removed. Tramps would not be likely to seek entertainment at the public expense.

But the other objections, that the system is undiscriminating and expensive, would remain, and would render its effective employment impracticable.

The second method alluded to may be described as the method of voluntary exclusion. Its aim is to secure such a condition of

things in any town that the professional traveller will absent himself of his own accord. Its essential principle is that of *re*pulsion rather than of *ex*pulsion.

The ground of hopefulness in connection with this system is found in that distinctive and persistent characteristic of the genuine tramp already referred to: he will not work. Make it certain in any community that he *must* work in order to secure supplies, and he will seek a more congenial clime. The distinctive features of the system to be considered are two: —

1. It furnishes work for any one who is willing to do it.

2. It endeavors to secure that no aid shall be given directly to unknown beggars, but that, instead, they shall be sent where, by working, they may provide for themselves.

In favor of this system it is to be said that it involves the three desirable features referred to as needful in any method for the satisfactory handling of this difficult problem.

In the first place, it makes it possible to distinguish between the industrious and the indolent. A saw, saw-horse, and wood-pile possess magic properties as a criterion of industrial character. The spear of Ithuriel itself was not more revealing.

In the second place, it provides temporary relief for the deserving. The man who seeks employment can at least procure food and lodging.

In the third place, the travelling fraternity are very quick to discern the insalubrity of the regions where this system prevails. No more striking illustration could be found of the law of affinities and repulsions than is afforded by the attitude of tramps as regards a town where he who would eat must first work.

Provide work, make it sure that vagrants must work before they can eat, and you have gone far toward the alleviation of the tramp evil in any locality.

The most serious obstacle to the effectiveness of this system is that which is the chief nourisher of the whole tramp evil; namely, undiscriminating sympathy. The great difficulty lies in inducing people, especially tender-hearted women, to refuse all supplies to unknown beggars. This difficulty is greatly enhanced by the fact already referred to, that among those applying for relief are deserving men, entitled to sympathy and assistance. Having no means of determining with certainty to which class any applicant belongs,

many adopt the rule of giving food to every one who asks it, on the principle that it is better to feed ten shirks than to turn away hungry one man who is willing to work.

When, however, the people of a community can be assured by those of their townsmen in whom they have confidence that work is provided for all who will work, that no man need go hungry who is willing to earn his living, housekeepers can, in measure, be induced to refuse food to tramps, and to send them where work can be obtained.

May I venture to transgress my limits so far as to say that, in my judgment, we are at this point very near to the root of this great evil in its wider aspects? The people of the United States are at the present time maintaining an army of between ninety thousand and one hundred thousand indolent beggars, and their voluntary contributions to this end amount to from eighteen millions to twenty millions of dollars annually. Until these streams of undiscriminating sympathy and misguided generosity can be checked, it is as futile to anticipate the suppression of the tramp evil as to think of drying up the Amazon without cutting off its sources.

As illustrating the operation of the second method described for the treatment of the evil in small towns, I venture to detail briefly the experience of Ann Arbor, Mich., a city of from ten thousand to twelve thousand people.

It is situated on the main line of the Michigan Central Railroad, a favorite thoroughfare of the peripatetics between the East and the West. In 1894 the Anti-tramp Society was organized, for the purpose, as stated in its appeal to the public, "of ridding the city of professional tramps, and, at the same time of furnishing relief to the deserving." The organization of the society is of the simplest. Any person may become a member by paying an annual fee, not to exceed one dollar. The work of the society is in the hands of an executive committee, consisting of the customary officers and of five other persons chosen at the annual meeting by the members. Three sub-committees, on finance, work, and wages, respectively, direct the different departments of the work. A superintendent, who in this case is also superintendent of the poor of the city, furnishes work to those who apply for it, and provides them with lodging or meal-tickets in compensation. No wages are paid in money. The work so far provided has been wood-sawing. For the first year arrange-

ment was made with one of the wood-yards of the city to furnish the society cord-wood, to allow the wood to be sawed within its limits, and again to receive the wood when sawed from the society, allowing a fair price for the cutting. Thus far in the present year similar work has been provided through arrangement with the superintendent of the city poor. A cheap but comfortable lodging-house furnishes meals and lodgings at an expense to the society of from 15 cents to 25 cents each.

The most significant of the results thus far is a very perceptible diminution in the number of tramps about the city. Judging from the estimates of competent and unprejudiced observers, it would be no exaggeration to say that the number has been reduced 75 per cent.

As the citizens become more familiar with the society and its work, and are led to adopt the practice more generally of refusing relief to beggars at their doors, this reduction can easily be carried much further.

During the first year 140 meals and 40 lodgings were provided. During the seven and a half months of the current year, 76 meals and 56 lodgings.

It should be understood that this society is of the nature of a charity, and not of a speculation. It does not make money. It does not pay its own way, though it has no expenses for administration. The annual fees of its members provide the necessary funds. An amount of work equivalent to about 15 cents at current wages is required for a meal or lodging. The price of meals and lodgings has sometimes been above this, and the society has paid the difference.

The cost of the first year's work in excess of money received for work done was $45. Had the city ordinances been enforced against the persons who did this work, the cost to the city would not have been less than $400. Can there be any question which is the better way?

I have not presented the work of this organization as a solution of the question assigned me. It has not been an unqualified success. Certain difficulties as regards matters of detail have come to light in the conduct of the work, and modifications will be necessary. The undertaking is still in the tentative stage. But enough has been accomplished to show beyond question that the principles upon which we are working are correct, and to encourage further experiment in the application of them.

Should some such plan as this be generally adopted by the small cities throughout the United States, it might prove to be a first step toward the removal of this pestilent and growing evil. For any hints from others who have been engaged in attempts similar to our own, which might enable us to conduct our work with more efficiency, we shall be very grateful.

VAGRANCY.

ADDRESS BY A. O. WRIGHT.

Vagrancy is not a new social disease. In one sense it is as old as savagery, for all savages are vagrants; and vagrancy in civilized communities is a reversion toward the savage type. Vagrancy was organized in the Middle Ages in the form of begging monks, begging students, and begging journeymen. It was encouraged by the ideas of lavish charity taught by the Church. In the last two or three centuries vagrancy has been a chronic disease of European civilization. Vagrants have been hanged by the hundreds, they have been whipped from parish to parish, they have been imprisoned; and this harsh treatment has not stamped out the disease. Vagrancy has grown within the last generation in America to proportions rivalling vagrancy in Europe, just as other social diseases have also grown as our population has grown denser.

The causes of vagrancy seem to be various. With some it is the love of wandering; with others it is the desire to live without work; with others it is a symptom of idiocy or insanity; with others it is the result of being crowded out of the social organization through unfitness for laboring, caused by vices or incapacity or by periods of financial depression. The genuine tramp, or hobo, is a member of a social organization of his own. He recruits this organization with boys, whom he entices into it as his slaves or apprentices to the art of vagrancy. He has his signs and passwords, his regular routes of travel, and his well-known places of meeting. As a rule, he is not a criminal, although he may fall into crime more easily than ordinary men; but among the tramps are a few professional criminals, who are "down on their luck" or who find it expedient to hide from the

authorities in this way. In addition to the hoboes, who will not work if they can avoid it, are a large number of semi-vagrants, who are frequently called "gay-cats," who work when they have a good opportunity, and would be willing to support themselves if a fair chance were offered them. Many of these last are honest workingmen who are thrown out of employment by the hard times. It is true that they have generally been dissipated, and therefore more easily lose their jobs than the more reliable workmen. The fact that a very large part of the vagrants are addicted to liquor and to licentiousness does not necessarily prove that these vices are always the causes of their vagrancy. In many cases they are the effects of their throwing off the restraints of society otherwise.

The insanity of quite a number of vagrants comes also from two sources. Many persons, mildly insane or born feeble-minded, are led into a wandering life because of their mental defects. On the other hand, the hardships and occasional excesses of a vagrant's life tend to produce insanity, so that we find quite a proportion of vagrants in our insane hospitals. The one common characteristic of all vagrants is that they live without work. They are therefore an anomaly in our industrial civilization and an unnecessary burden upon society. The efforts to suppress vagrancy by harshness have failed, except as they sometimes drive vagrants from one locality to another locality more favorable to them.

The only experiments that have ever been really successful for any length of time in reforming vagrancy have been those in which by a mixture of force and kindness the government has continuously compelled vagrants and beggars to live by their own labors. The most remarkable experiment of this kind was that conducted by Count Rumford, in Bavaria, about one hundred years ago. He was a New England Loyalist who was driven out by the Revolution, and became Prime Minister to the King of Bavaria. By using the police of that despotic kingdom as it was then, he arrested all the vagrants and beggars on a given day, and set them at work to earn their own living, at various industries adapted to their abilities, teaching them various trades and paying them for their services, and increasing their pay from time to time as they learned to do their work better. The vagrant population of Bavaria at that time consisted of whole families, children growing up to the profession of beggary adopted by their parents. Count Rumford's efforts reformed the children as

well as the parents, and almost entirely suppressed the nuisance of beggary and vagrancy in Bavaria. At the present time the kingdom of Holland and the kingdom of Prussia have beggar colonies to which large numbers of beggars and vagrants are sent, where they are held under a mild discipline and given an opportunity to cultivate land, and earn their own living, and acquire individual property. In this country, so far as I know, no continuous efforts have been made to establish vagrants in self-supporting industries. There are many rescue missions and provident wood-yards in the larger cities, in which persons who are willing to work and have no money are given an opportunity to earn their board and lodging at some form of labor, while looking for something permanent elsewhere. There are also here and there attempts to punish the vagrants by holding them to actual work in the workhouses. All these efforts are palliative and temporary. They may drive vagrants from one place to another, and they may assist some honest workingmen who have been temporarily driven to vagrancy to get out of that slough of despond into a self-supporting life again; but the regular hobo is not touched by these means. Nothing short of a firm and continuous application of law for a series of years will cure a genuine tramp. Short sentences, whether harsh or mild treatment is given under them, have a very temporary effect. The only genuine reform is to establish the tramp in society again as a self-supporting individual; and this requires something more than punishment, and especially punishment for short terms. An opportunity must be given the vagrants to earn their own living and be paid for their work, and they must be held to that by gentle force before any general reform can be expected of tramps. The most of the tramps are young men who began life as truants and young rowdies, and are simply carrying out in tramping to its full extent the education they began in their neglected homes and in the streets of the cities. Anything which breaks up the slum life of the cities, which prevents the formation of gangs of young rowdies and robbers, which holds all children, not only to book knowledge in school, but also to steady industry and a habit of earning money, will cut off the sources from which tramps are supplied. Anything which will break up the habits of liquor-drinking and licentiousness will prevent a large number of young men from breaking down morally and physically, and thereby being driven into vagrancy.

VIII.

Charity Organization.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CHARITY ORGANIZATION.

BY P. W. AYRES, PH.D., CHAIRMAN.

A Charity Organization Society seeks to do three things: —

The first is to bring the philanthropic forces of a city to work together instead of at cross purposes.

The second is to secure complete knowledge of persons who are unfortunate and need aid, by means of an examination of conditions wherever want is reported and by registering useful facts concerning families aided.

The third is to bring the well-to-do and the poor to a mutual understanding by means of friendly visitors; limiting the work of each visitor to one or two families, so that interest and enthusiasm are not lost. Let us consider each of these briefly.

Co-operation.

The value of co-operation in bringing different forces to work together is illustrated by the city fire department. If the engines from the several stations were to run off to a fire without directions or reference to one another, they might or might not put it out. Water on some fires adds to the conflagration. So in the moral conflagration in the modern city. Aid from some charitable society merely adds to the flames. Another illustration is that of the post-office. If we all went up to the post-office every morning, each for our own mail, and found it heaped indiscriminately on the table, we should have great confusion in finding our own. Often in our work with the poor, each of us takes what he finds. It is by organization

that a few people are able to bring order out of chaos. The Charity Organization Society seeks to harmonize and unite all the forces of good against the forces of evil, which are united by the element of profit.

Adequate Knowledge.

Through the careful and sympathetic examination of conditions in homes where want is found, the society develops a series of skilled workers who are as necessary to the poor in their need as a piano-tuner to properly tuning a piano that gives out discordant notes. A man who does nothing but piano-tuning in a factory acquires a very delicate touch. Trained workers among the poor become attuned to their needs and aspirations. They take hold of people and build them up when other people pronounce them frauds. On the other hand they quickly detect the false note and outline stringent measures which the uninitiated regard as harsh and even cruel.

It is not true that workers in Charity Organization Societies or in other forms of philanthropic work become necessarily callous. The experienced worker among the poor becomes firm, quick, and decisive, just as the experienced surgeon performs his operations without letting his sympathies interfere with his steadiness of nerve. Some hastily condemn the Charity Organization movement, saying, "Oh, you ask too many questions." What would you think of your physician if he gave you medicine without asking you any questions? The fact is, the poor are injured because people do not take time to find out what the real trouble is.

Furthermore, in registering useful facts about the poor there is great beauty. When a physician goes down the ward of a hospital, if he probes a tender wound, he puts a little card on the head of the bed with the name on it and the treatment, and the remedies given, so that, after seeing many hundred patients, if he comes down next morning he knows just what he has done; or if during the day three or four other physicians come down the ward, each one knows that he is not to probe the wound. In our charity work we are far less tender. We find a spiritual wound: Mary has been deserted by her husband, and left with her children, desolate. I go and probe; you go, Pastor A goes, Superintendent B, Charity Agent C. We probe: "When did he go?" "What made him go?" "What did he say to you when he went?" Is it strange that this poor woman should

become glib with her story, finding that each repetition brings an opiate of cold victuals and old clothes, each gift benumbing her sensibilities? Is there any one here who thinks the spiritual is less sensitive than the physical? Let us away with this vicious probing, and with all hasty methods. One set of queries is enough. Let us make sure that in true loving kindness we use the method called scientific.

Personal Service.

But the keynote of the Charity Organization movement is a deeper one than the co-operation of forces or registration, or proper and careful inquiry. It is personal service. This is found in the organization of volunteer friendly visitors. Some societies have been content to have their officers and agents of high grade, so as to touch the poor with sympathy and friendship; but they have not extended this to getting many thoughtful men and women trained to help their brothers in distress. It seems as if those societies which have not adopted the system of friendly visiting may have been overworked with the detail of registration and the examination of need, and have been afraid to undertake the organization of a body of volunteers lest they should make a botch of it. Some very boldly say that the whole system of winning friends to the poor is a vagary. Others say: "New visitors are likely to do harmful work. The things to be done are so important, errors so disastrous, that we cannot use volunteers except in a limited number of families." To these statements we enter our protest. The poor need life,— broader and more energetic life. This is secured only through personal relations, which are the spring of effort. We, as workers in Charity Organization Societies, must have care lest we deem our judgment regarding the helpfulness of our fellow-men as superior to that of other people, and lest we show a lack of faith in the judgment and discretion in our fellow-workers. In several of our American cities, in Boston, in Brooklyn, in Baltimore, in Philadelphia, in Cincinnati, in St. Paul, the method of volunteer friendly visiting has been tried, in some cases for years, and is beyond the stage of experiment. It has proven that numbers of men and women can be found whose sympathy is equipped with judgment, and whose discretion is sufficient to make them helpful friends to one or two families in need. It has proven that experience can be acquired, sometimes rapidly, without injury to the poor, and

that visitors placed under the direction of agents of the society can do valuable and useful work in raising families to self-respect and self-support. At the same time, this broadens and beautifies the lives of the well-to-do who visit.

The Charity Organization movement is directed quite as much to teaching the rich as helping the poor; indeed, the gift which the poor make to the rich is equal to that which the rich make to the poor. The qualities of long suffering and patience, filial devotion and good will among men, all make their dwelling-place among the poor. The burdens of the poor are sad indeed, and, when shared, make life sweeter for all of us. In this connection it must be said that when men and women go to live among the poor in settlements, to spend their whole time as visitors, must we not believe that this expenditure of life is altogether effective? Furthermore, the system of friendly visiting is the surest and most direct method of bringing public sentiment to bear upon neglect and abuse. Some of the foreign cities, in England and Germany, are more humane in their arrangements for the poor than we are in our American cities. Care for the housing of the poor and their sanitary well-being has found permanent expression through departments of the municipal government. *Our American city governments are in the main passive.* There is no way so sure by which some of our evils can be changed as by bringing a large number of men and women face to face with conditions in the homes of the poor. Such visitors are brought sharply in touch with industrial conditions, they see the sweat-shop workers, they find hundreds of little girls in department stores until midnight during the holidays; they see the results of unguarded machinery, of dangerous wires, and other evident and constant sources of poverty. How can we secure public sentiment for curing these evils unless we bring thoughtful men and women face to face with the results of them? The harvest is ripe; go forth and be a friend. Ask the Charity Organization Society to put you in touch with a family whose sorrows, if you share them, will enlarge your mind and heart.

In preparing this report, a set of questions was sent out to sixty-five societies of the country that have adopted Charity Organization principles, asking each its relation to local city administration in bringing about improved tenement and sanitary conditions, and the reduction of public outdoor relief. It asked concerning the transportation of the poor from city to city; the stamp savings system;

the extension of relief by work; the attitude of the society toward aiding the families of strikers and toward sending persons to fill the places of strikers. Forty-nine replies were received.

Improved Tenement Conditions and Sanitary Regulations.

Ten cities report that there has been definite improvement in tenement and sanitary conditions due to their efforts.

Twenty-four societies report that the provident savings scheme is used in their respective cities, usually as a department of the Charity Organization Society. Eight societies report an extension of relief in work, the greater number securing this end through other organizations than a Charity Organization Society. The principle of relief in work rather than relief in alms appears to have received the sanction of many of the experienced workers.

Reduction of Public Outdoor Relief.

In the reduction of public outdoor relief it is notable that twenty-eight societies report a decrease, while seven report an increase. It is well known that Brooklyn and Philadelphia abolished this system in 1879. New York City is practically without it, as are also Washington, Baltimore and San Francisco. If these large cities with various conditions of life are able to care for large masses of humanity without aid from the public treasury, why is it that many other cities do not follow their example?

The amounts given in several cities are as follows: —

Name.	*Population.*	1894.	1895.
New Haven	100,000	$21,571.83	$17,024.84
St. Paul	140,000	20,510.00	16,791.00
Denver	106,713	16,711.83	12,903.45
Milwaukee	270,000		68,000.00
Hartford	58,000		19,575.00
Buffalo	335,000		99,447.22
Chicago	1,670,000		125,000.00
Cincinnati	350,000		12,000.00
Grand Rapids	90,000		26,994.83

Concerning the Transportation of the Poor from City to City.

Nineteen societies report that they invariably send the poor through to their destination. The system of outdoor relief, as applied to this class of persons, has created a set of inter-municipal paupers and vagrants, each city shipping individuals or families whose situation is pitiful in the extreme on to the next town in the name of charity, but in reality it is the essence of selfishness. Thus: the Daily family recently appeared in Chicago, sent from Valparaiso, Ind.; before that it was in Bay City, Mich.; before that in Detroit; before that in Duluth; before that in Indianapolis; before that throughout the South. Careful inquiry revealed that the family had no legal residence whatever; that it belonged only to the United States government. Fully fifteen years had this family been sent from place to place, four children from their earliest years having been expert beggars. The man stated that seven other children had died. The mother is feeble-minded, and now seeks admission to a maternity hospital. This shipping a family by county agents or others from one place to another is the quintessence of cruelty.

Another instance is that of three Polish women with their families of children. They were started from Buffalo to join their husbands, who had left that city and found work at Seattle, Wash., but were unable to pay the transportation for their families. They were sent to Chicago where the county, after feeding them and waiting two or three days in indecision, sent them to St. Paul; here they fell into the hands of the Charity Organization Society and were promptly returned to Chicago, which city promptly returned them to Buffalo. The only intelligent plan for these families must have been that the Buffalo authorities found out surely what their destination was, and sent them to it if they should go. There were ten children in these families. They were out from Buffalo about fourteen days, during which their sufferings were severe.

Every Charity Organization Society throughout the country is urged to see to it that this evil is stopped, that those public or private societies which send the poor from one city to another, send them always to their final destinations. If you happen to have a family who have no destination, keep it in your own midst and do what you can for it.

Relation of Charity Organization to Industry.

The last question of the schedule asked the relation of the Charity Organization Society to families of persons out of work on a strike, and the attitude of the society toward sending persons to take the places of the strikers. This involves the relation of the Charity Organization Society to industry. Mr. Charles Booth's first volume on "The Life and Labor of the Poor in London," made for all charitable workers the important disclosure that the one-tenth who make up the very poor are not the four-tenths who make up the great body of the self-supporting working people. We must always keep this in mind. Many criticise the Charity Organization movement because they think it tries to solve the labor problem. Not at all; it is directed toward another class. Between the working people and the very poor there are definite relations. By improving the conditions of labor we may remove many cases and causes of poverty. Thus, if there is better education among children, more intelligent self-support becomes possible. Shorter hours of labor foster home life; larger wages make larger savings possible. It is essential that we look at our problem occasionally from the industrial point of view. Canon Barnett, of Toynbee Hall, in London, has said that the fundamental thing is to secure larger wages for the lower working class, but our direct work is with the very poor who frequently are members of the great working class. When sudden depression comes and the factories stop, most of the working people live for a time on their savings. It is those who do odd jobs for the working people — the washerwoman, and others — who most keenly feel the pinch. In time of strikes families live on their savings or through the collections of the union, and seldom apply to the charitable institutions for aid. The answer received in the majority of instances from the Charity Organization Societies in this country had been, "We have not been called upon to solve this problem." Several replies have been, "We should take a neutral position." From this the committee dissents. If the families of strikers are in need, and the little children are suffering, the Charity Organization Society should keep to its principles, securing aid from the proper source, from the union or even sometimes from the employer. If there is actual suffering of innocent persons, humanity knows no law of social caste or difference of industrial opinion.

Is not the striker's family equally to be commiserated with the drunkard's family? Who would refuse to go to the drunkard's family under such conditions? It is noteworthy that very few strikers' families, even in case of large strikes, make application to the charity societies for aid. Those who do are mostly the chronic poor who have applied before and who are glad to make the strike an excuse for further application.

With regard to sending applicants for aid to take the place of strikers one society reported, "We should not send them. Every time a striker's place is filled a striker's family is brought down to pauperism. We should try to get the men back into their proper places." Another reports, "It would be exceedingly unwise that a charitable agency should put its applicants into places which competent heads of families might fill." The prevailing opinion is that applicants should not be thus sent.

In conclusion there are two objects towards which the Charity Organization Society must work in order to do its best for the poor. The first is that of municipal control of tenement and sanitary conditions. Until the municipality with its great power shall aid us in this matter we are likely to accomplish less than the best results. We should strive to have our cities accomplish that which some of the English and German cities have already accomplished; namely, government by which the most possible is done for the good of the whole people, rather than by our present method by which sometimes the least possible is done.

The second which is equally important is that we must arouse a large and strong public sentiment in favor of better industrial conditions.

The several thousands of deaths per annum among employees in our railway service are not found in that of other countries. Unguarded machinery, unwholesome conditions in factories and shops, bad air and overwork, these are intimately connected with our work. Proper laws properly enforced, together with much direct personal influence, these only can relieve us.

It is our task, therefore, to understand the social problems and to make them clear to the people. Until we discover and remove the causes of poverty, we shall have a greater burden than our hearts can bear in relieving the suffering.

CHARITY ORGANIZATON.

BY C. S. LOCH,

SECRETARY OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY OF LONDON, ENG.

A great deal of work has yet to be done in this department, where I have worked for a number of years. There are questions remaining which, in the perspective and proportion in which we see them, differ somewhat from the questions put before you here and now, but in regard to which we must rely on the same spirit, and in regard to most of which we must proceed on similar methods. There are other speakers to follow me, and I fear to take too much time if I go into detail. In a matter like this, in which all our interests are centred, I may perhaps be inclined to consider points of detail as points of importance. I must ask your indulgence if I seem to lay too much stress upon what I consider important. It is with great pleasure that I am here to speak to you. It has been said that correspondence is like dried flowers,— you have to think a great deal about the words, imagine a great deal about the people, to bring life into your correspondence; but here I can speak with you face to face about these matters of Charity Organization.

I have always held that the mission of charity has been misunderstood. I have said that our association represented the department to which the nation intrusted the constant work of national regeneration. You know that in that class to which Mr. Ayres has referred there is a constant body which sifts down slowly to the bottom,— a body of persons doomed to become what we technically call "uncivilized," losing the restraints of family life and mutual intercourse which tend to keep us in place and brace us into goodness; it is that body which sifts downwards, and it is my belief that the constant work of Charity Organization is to regenerate such, to keep them from falling (if not in our generation, then in the next) into a desperate and hopeless condition. As to my plans of work, I fear I may repeat in some measure what has already been said. Pardon me if I do.

Our first duty is to inquire. We should try to be more and more careful in inquiry. People say, "Why make so much work, asking so many questions, so and so and so? Just get one or two facts, that

is enough." I think all our experience has gone in just the opposite direction. We should inquire not merely into "facts" but into possibilities of help. About the individual is the group of the family and the group of friends. You must rely upon the natural social growths that environ a person. There is a kind of blindness in charity that will not inquire, a blindness to the real object and purpose. Again and again, society, looking askance at the person, does not see how he is going down every day. The United States, which should be the fairest of nations, is often the very gutter for nations to-day. See these charitable people, how they flit about like the birds of Niagara, flitting here and there. There is no concentration, no purpose, no future result in view. A little bit of inquiry, soup tickets, or tickets of some sort,— and that is the end. If the inquiry has been worth anything at all, the applicant has been followed up and the inquiry has been sufficient to know whether he needs you again.

Then, you will see that our next point is, the adequate assistance. I will not lay stress upon that, but how are we to get it? We say, "By co-operation." What is your agent of co-operation? A committee. But the object of the committee is to draw you together, ladies and gentlemen, and get you to work in connection with the machinery of the office officials, like myself and others who are at your service. If that point is evaded, believe me, all this inquiry, all the results, everything, is evaded. We want to bring together all the imagination, all the intellect there is in the place, whether here or in any other land. We must consult together. You degrade us officials if you ask us to simply act for you. It is not only that we are agent or secretary, to be used in that sense, but that you are to be fellow-workers with us. You don't support the charity organization that you are supposed to support, unless you give thought to it and get your friends to work for it. It is not the office, it is not the inquiry, it is not the adequate relief by itself. Those things are nothing, unless you back them by solid public opinion, unless behind is an army; and you, gentlemen and ladies, are that army.

Then, again, as to our societies. I, for instance, interested in the work of Charity Organization,— how am I to use it? Suppose members of the committee are absent. There is no large force, no large social life behind. So far as lies with you, you make it impossible for us to get the help of other societies; you make our work in that

direction of no effect. You are not educating yourselves as to the organization. You can not, in two or three years, learn the lessons that are to be learned. It is case work.

We have before us a series of problems about the lives of the people we deal with, and very hard problems they are. By constant correspondence with one another we could teach one another and create knowledge and culture, lacking in the public mind, of how to assist other people. It is a new social ability that has to be nourished and cherished amongst ourselves. There is no use in supposing that we can avoid the difficulties of the work and accept the large horizon of splendid possibilities for the future, if we are not willing to discipline ourselves in the daily work of forming our own judgment in these matters of guess work. The individual work is the only basis upon which organization can prosper. I have been trying to lay stress upon some of the distinctive marks of organization. There are many ways of stating principles. I tried to state them some years since. If you have no principles, you have no organization. You have no accepted line of action. These seem to us to be our leading principles, and perhaps I may be allowed to place them before you. There is really no work of charity that does not place the person benefited in self-dependence. If that is true, the administration of most of our charitable societies must be made accordingly. The forms of relief should be what would best promote self-dependence. All aid, support, or relief, given without reference to the home of the individual, is given at haphazard, and is injurious. Charity should abandon such relief. All means of pressure, such as fear of destitution, sense of true shame, influence of relatives, must be brought to bear and left to act upon the individual. He must, as far as possible, be thrown upon his own resources. Furthermore, in deciding what relief or assistance should or should not be tendered, the family is the important consideration. Help in sickness or trouble should be cast, so far as possible, upon the family. The circumstances of each individual must be considered. Charity must consider them not as recipients of gifts, but as men and women whose standard of life has to be raised. The "charity" that fulfils the natural duties of others is an unkind wrong,— defective charity. The charity that helps others to do their duty is the most genuine, as it is the most difficult charity. I have not time to give you instances of work done in this manner. I only tell you a

few points which I hope you will look upon as important. These poor families,— why should we spend such an amount of time upon them? Behind these general principles there is an immense amount of business work to be done.

There is no particular glory in being inaccurate, there is no special blessing upon not looking at and feeling the difficulties in a case, there is no glory in the mere handling of a large number of cases. The business side, the method of treatment,— there is the very essence of the problem. Therefore, this case work is only the branching of the central path of the whole Charity Organization. Through the committee, through the home, through the poor laws, through state relief (if you wish to use it), through the friendly visitor,— all these are methods for bringing about results.

Organization is extending through the country. Every organization tends toward bringing all together, just as trade and commerce between England and America bring the two hearts together on the two shores with common interests.

There is another point I wish to lay stress upon. Good men go through charity work in this department with us with eyes perpetually fixed on the larger objects, and frequently forget there is a necessity for looking down carefully at every step if the work they are engaged in is to be properly done. Real charity shows only after the lapse of ten or twelve years, and the dusty books interest me because they are like corpses of the past by which I am enabled to see the lineaments of our ancestors. Unless our work goes down and deals with our population, deals with the plain men and women, it is altogether likely to pass into hopeless oblivion. It is extraordinary how small a thing will color the pursuits of men and women when they deal with one of our common people. What makes you care so much for sanitation? It is because you realize that in a particular street difficulties arise for a particular family for want of proper sanitation; your intellectual power, your whole frame is stimulated. It is one of the best appeals that charity association can address to the world. It makes the thought of the nations seethe with new ideas.

It is against the false form of charity that I wish to speak. If the bearing-rein is tightened, you can not tell a blooded horse from a two-penny screw. Sham charity is ready to tighten up the rein and make a two-penny screw look like a decent horse. Charity has gone all the lengths she can in this direction. It is for these Charity Organ-

izations to come down to method and not allow people to be deceived. I think we have the right to protest for the good of the coming generation. I must say nothing has astonished me more than the way gifts have been bestowed. I hope the Charity Organizations will appeal to the nobler feeling, to something that reaches the deepest inner nature, and if we cultivate it in the right direction we can press to our end, and it will carry us through.

One of the most sorrowful things of the past is that there has been so much clapping of hands over schemes. How often it happens somebody hits upon an idea,— brilliant to him, as it has been to some others. He goes and says: "Here is a new thing. I tried it last winter, and the results were splendid." And straightway we all make great ado and try the thing, to see if we cannot adopt it. It is time to insert a check upon scientific experiments, especially in regard to the social growth of the nation. We are not working on the abstract, but on the self-consciousness of men and women. It is a most difficult thing to do, most laborious, takes a great deal of time,— five, possibly ten years. Let us be very humble, let us give a long rein to our invention before we cry "Eureka!" By all means let us work on from point to point, but let our persuasion be our strength. No trying of little by-ways that may be turned from as a child's toy, to the real work upon the cases and our persuasion. I have thought that clearer than many charitable appeals are those words of Sir Galahad, when in search of what we are all in search of, the Sangreal:

> "While thus he spoke, his eye
> Falling on mine, drew me
> With a power upon me, until I believed
> As he believed."

That seems to me to be the argument we should use,— that we should become one by reason of our common belief; that argument, should make us one, the upraising of our brother to the better life; to fight against this feature of a barbaric age which is our enemy, just as old King Arthur fought those hard barbaric foes which his Round Table was created to fight. And what shall our future be? I want to specially lay stress upon this. I would ask all who are employed in Charity Organizations not to mind the theories with which they left college or school: let them be suspended in the air. It takes a long, long time to bring a theory from cloud-land into life. Leave

them suspended and do some work in the best way possible, and they will secure from observation a foundation upon which the future may be built. Octavia Hill and others learned their work as workers and in no other way. They did not spend their time in words, but were observers. If you can get that power of observation on the subject in actual, daily work, in the right spirit, the future is certain; the work must grow, and Charity Organization must prosper. Class and sect can have no part in Charity Organization. We ignore them. What we shall ultimately have to do is this,— and our work is not done until it is accomplished,— to draw together the workingmen and those who are rich, that they may work side by side in relation to these cases of difficulty. Do not expect anything less, I ask. Believe me, that is true charity in a very great sense which may draw all people together. I am sure there is no minister or clergyman but would wish in a practical object to see all help in common, that all should at least move the world to prevent degeneracy, to relieve the distressed, if you must, — particularly the old,— but go one step farther: we charitable people hold the destiny of the nations, constantly reforming, to prevent national degeneracy.

THE SCOPE AND INFLUENCE OF A CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY.

BY C. R. HENDERSON,

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Essential Principles of Charity Organization.

The ideal of all forms of social organization is a certain conception of development and personality. The perfection of manhood is the end of nature, and should be consciously apprehended by us as the goal of organized action. This implies the perfection of all men, since only in the community of the good can any individual realize his best self.

Particular Principles Relating to Method. Economy of Creative Energy.

The great peril of man is atrophy of power by disease. The most pathetic ruin is a palsied will. The biological condition of development is effort. The being which is fed without expense of effort becomes a parasite, and loses powers of locomotion and initiation. The worst thing about slavery was not the physical suffering it imposed, but the fact that it accustomed a people not to care for freedom and responsibility. If a man is dying from an opiate we must keep him walking, or he is lost. So we say "work rather than relief," not to diminish our own trouble and cost, but to save manhood. The Charity Organization is established to teach the public to respect the spiritual dignity of the poor. There is a profound scepticism abroad as to the value of a dependent person. There is a multitude of intelligent people who give always with the feeling that money and meat are the chief needs of the unfortunate. With such we insist on another motto, "Not alms, but a friend." A public which imagines that wealth will buy all goods needs education. Traditional charity methods have too frequently fostered the notion that a community can do its whole duty by ministering to the animal satisfactions of the hungry. A protest against this degrading conception is still necessary. Charity organization methods lay emphasis on foresight and preventive adjustments. We do not claim that all poverty is preventable, but we know that much poverty is preventable. We have not exhausted the resource of provident charity. We have not developed all the effective energy of our public school system. Analysis of a tramp, pauper, or criminal population reveals immense forces, which have become anti-social because they were not directed to production. Hospitals and dispensaries heal the body and pauperize the soul, because no adequate plan of sick insurance is yet organized. There are cities where a selected class of dependants could avoid the annual appeal to the public officials if their income had been increased ten dollars during the summer. There ought to be in every community a society which might help to make summer care for winter, and day make provision for night; and this not to spare the purses of the rich, but to give hope and self-respect to the despairing and self-indulgent. There ought to be a society in every community which will collect the facts

about the *causes* of pauperism and crime, and lay them before the public until social opinion is alert and vigorous. But when material relief is necessary, it should be quick, kind, and adequate. After all our preventive methods there will be those who must be sheltered and fed. We cannot leave them to perish. We must at least bury them, lest their dead bodies poison the air. Charity organization stands for speedy and sufficient aid. It is the mortal enemy of scraps and doles of help. It resists the iniquitous custom of sending a poor fellow on from door to door to beg in public until the sense of shame is dead forever. It has often been demonstrated that this demoralizing method of a chaotic society is not necessary. Swift as an angel from heaven should charity go when called by helpless need. But such ready and complete aid cannot be provided without efficient organization.

Essential Elements of the Structure of the Society for Associating Charities.

The machinery of organization must be directed to its ends: (1) The voluntary associations of persons who hold common principles and are willing to work for them. (2) An expert secretary who has knowledge, wisdom, and experience. Here is a field for a new profession. Its first members must have the courage of pioneers, the learning of scholars, and the devotion of missionaries. They must have thick skins and be able to shed the fiery darts of ignorant criticism. They must believe in the future of principles which are not understood in the present. They must be able, like prophets, to live on crusts and hopes. (3) The central office must provide for investigation, registration, and information. (4) In larger places there must be a corps of paid visitors for the work of investigation. (5) Conferences of friendly visitors are needed to inspire, to instruct, to select, and to console. (6) Public conferences should be maintained for the education of the community in the theory and practice of philanthropy. In each community these are essential elements, but the field for inventive genius has no wider realm for daring and adventurous experiment. Conditions vary endlessly and put the resourceful man upon his mettle with varied crises.

The Social Function of the Association of Charities.

The Charity Organization Society is absolutely essential, especially in America, to secure the best results of public charity, — county, township, or municipal. No living person can foretell the future of public outdoor relief. We must deal with it as a fact, probably a very persistent custom, since it is embodied in usages and in law. We may learn from the experience of Germany. Perhaps the "Elberfeld" system of municipal charities is the best in the world. It is centralized; the books are honestly and carefully kept; the supervision is expert and scientific. A corps of unpaid visitors study individual cases with vast outlay of personal care and toil; and yet the German charity workers are calling for further organization. There is no way of preventing generous individuals, societies, and churches from assisting their poor and neighbors. This co-operation is necessary even under the best municipal administration; but our American system is not the best. I do not think we shall ever know just how bad it is, for many things happen which the actors are not anxious to have on record or publish in reports. Thus we shall always need a voluntary association to meet new conditions as they arise, to try experiments before making a scheme part of a general plan, and for dealing with the most delicate and unusual cases of distress. For many years to come the association will find the study of the recipients of public outdoor relief one of its most vital and difficult problems. It has been generally understood that the outdoor paupers are outside the pale of hope. When a church or benevolent society has exhausted its means and patience, these persons are given over to the public authorities and then abandoned; but that method will not endure investigation and reflection. Difficult as is the task, we may not flinch from it. Who shall say that any class of human beings should be thus abandoned by all who seek to restore hope and ambition?

The Charity Organization Society works for the same ends as those of the labor organizations. The wage earners of this country have two great forms of organization, the trades unions and the benevolent orders. These men are inspired by a horror and dread of dependence; and it has often been said that so far as laborers are organized there is no pauper problem. This repugnance to charity is sometimes misdirected, and it often leads "workingmen" to mis-

interpret those who call themselves "charity workers"; but the dislike for any social treatment which suggests inferiority and servile dependence is a noble trait, and a bulwark against the rising tide of pauperism and crime.

The association of charities seeks to cultivate this independent, manly, democratic sentiment, the hope of a stalwart, sound and vigorous people. This society lends its influence to all genuinely democratic efforts to improve industrial methods, to direct the movements of thrift, to protect the weak and defenceless against injustice, and to improve the working of schools, courts, and public boards. It seeks to multiply the agencies of sanitation; to promote the public health; to lay bare the weakening and tainting customs which destroy health and life. The records of these societies are full of arguments for social reforms, and the testimony of their friendly visitors often arouses legislators and newspapers and pulpits to speak for the voiceless. Surely the labor organizations will find reason to come close to us. On the other hand, we must recognize the wage-earner as our fellow-worker rather than as a dependant.

The society is a valuable assistant to the Church. It knows no sect. It knows humanity. This society, acting for all the population and for all the institutions of culture, is especially helpful to the Church: (a) In the discovery of need. Love is seeking sorrow. Those who are comfortable wish to know where misery dwells. The agents of this association open their records and locate the destitution. (b) In the supplying of information on which a judgment can be based. A society which works for the entire city can secure far more knowledge than is possible for any particular church to secure without co-operation. Ignorant giving is cruelty. (c) It teaches religious workers the best methods of beneficence. In these days of specialization there must be a society which can keep the ministry informed about the most successful ways of doing good. (d) It promotes the unity of the churches in practical goodness, which is the common bond in spite of the unavoidable differences about intellectual creeds and forms of polity. Unity and harmony are power. Working together we learn to understand each other, to become more tolerant, and less selfish. Of all the forms of selfishness which curse the world, ecclesiasticism, which regards the Church as the end of all action and striving, is the basest and most malign. When we learn that the Church is made to minister to man; when

we come to see that it is only one institution among many which are working for the kingdom of God; when we realize that the prayer of Jesus that we "all might be one that the world may believe" can best be answered when we unite to do his loving will,—then the glory of Jehovah is near to us; the kingdom of heaven has come down from God to earth. Then shall he wipe all tears from their eyes.

FRIENDLY VISITING.

BY MARY E. MCDOWELL,

OF THE CHICAGO UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT.

Mr. Ayres asked me to say a little about friendly visiting,—not because I have been a success, I have not. When I hear all that the friendly visitors say about it, I feel that I have done nothing but have a series of failures. I think Mr. Ayres asked me to talk about this, because our settlement occasionally has a kind of conference of friendly visitors from all parts of town come into our neighborhood. If they meet with difficulties, if they cannot find a person, if they are puzzled about anything, they will drop in and talk it over in a very friendly way; and not only among ourselves, but with those friendly visitors, we sometimes feel like saying, "Let us give it all up and go back to the Relief and Aid Societies." This training of people while we are training ourselves is a tremendous problem. Once a friendly visitor said, "I am perfectly willing to clothe and feed these people, but I must confess that I must look upon them as just so many animals." It is very hard to put up with her; and yet even she is having a change of mind through constantly beginning over,—the constant seeing of people who are so patient with her and her friends. The patience of the poor, what they have to put up with in us! Sometimes we feel like turning all outsiders out and just trying in our own small way to get along, even if some people are hungry, and even doing without those things we know those persons from outside are so able to bring in. You remember when Marcella started that tragic night to go and stay with Manda Hurd, whose

husband was to be executed the next day, how her mother turned to her and said, "It seems to me that woman would like to be in solitude"? And yet Marcella would go and stay all night, spite of the fact that Manda Hurd said she would rather have one of her own flesh and blood. We think of the poor, somehow, as differing from us; we want to elevate them, and insist upon being like Marcella.

So I feel that the first thing for us is to "take this sacrifice of service for humanity." It can not be taken lightly if we think of it in its deepest sense; it means taking the real "flesh and blood," and we find we must go slow and prepare ourselves. Before I went to live so near these people, I must confess I sailed often into a house and told them to "clean up" in the most righteous manner. I don't know whether I am demoralized because I live in smoke and dirt, but I find it very hard to ask them to clean up now. I look upon dirt now as a very small evil compared with other things. The tragedies in their lives are so very great. When people live in two small rooms, perhaps with a good many children, with soot, and oil, and coal that seems to be filled with tallow; and when I see how the smoke comes into our own rooms, and we find it so expensive to keep them clean, you cannot wonder that when we go to see a neighbor who, perhaps, in the kindness of her heart, has allowed all the children in the neighborhood to come and play in her one little room, and the children running in and out and having a very delightful time, and the house is very dirty, and Mrs. O'Reilley very apologetic, we look above those things. We see the dirt and feel sorry for it, and we hope it will be cleaned up and in better condition next time. I have been very discouraged about myself, and my inability to tell people to clean up. I can't do it. When I try to apply some of that "moral force" Mr. Ayres has spoken of, somehow I don't know how.

Another instance of friendly visiting: there was a colored woman with most beautiful children, bright as could be. I think I never saw a more picturesque group. The woman's husband died; and in the neighborhood where there were university people, who prided themselves on their intelligence, that woman and children were permitted to stay along, right in that community, and become more and more paupers (perhaps they wanted her, so they could have the pleasure of looking at and talking about her). They never did anything really valuable for her. She was given twelve dollars for a Christmas

present and she took every one of those children down and had their photographs taken. She was found fault with, but it seems to me it was the community that should have been blamed. She was proud of her handsome children, and she never had an opportunity before to have their pictures.

We need to think of these people as brothers and sisters, because God is our Father and their Father, although it is sometimes very unpleasant and very hard to go among them. We do not just want to clothe the body for to-day, we want them to learn self-respect and family pride, to try to raise their character; and if we give anything we want to do it with that aim in view. If we go to them with those higher gifts that we are able to bestow, believing that this man, woman or family needs the gift of beauty, of education, of pleasure, of an outing, of our own hospitality, and if we would not only call upon them but ask them to call upon us and expect them to do it, even going so far as to say, I lunch at such an hour and shall expect you, do you suppose pauperism would grow under such friendship as that? It could not and it does not. I believe a friend who does that reciprocal kind of friendly visiting is developing a kind of relationship that will not be artificial; and the result will be that even if we give alms it will be like those things that come to us from our better-off relatives, who, you know, send us clothes that they do not care to wear longer, or cannot wear longer in their surroundings, because they can afford to get new and finer ones. But if such a cousin looks down upon me in the least as a poor inferior cousin, I think I would have a very different feeling.

When Kingsley was asked what influence had made him the man he was, he answered, "I had a friend." We sometimes think of this relationship as artificial, but it need not be. Everything depends on the philosophy with which we start out. Perhaps we don't formulate that philosophy, but there must be the feeling that down underneath is the common relationship, that the difference between us is only the result of development by God's grace and not by any special virtue of our own. I feel that I am only working these things out myself, in a small way, and am experimenting. I think organized charity has a great responsibility in the matter of friendly visitors, but I do believe there are good materials in the association. We have a good many cases of the erratic where there must be training, and if the organization of charities does not train them, we

shall just go on doing hysterical, erratic work, with perhaps half the population receiving relief,— degrading, not only to the poor, but to you and me. We want to get together, as Dr. Henderson says, and have the best thing that we can at this time; but don't let us allow it to get fossilized, as I suppose Charity Organization, like any other organization can. It will be, unless there is the friendly visiting that comes in, fresh and new every time, to make the old life fresh and new and ever growing.

THE FRIENDLY VISITOR.

BY MRS. L. P. ROWLAND.

Friendly visiting is a step in the right direction. Perhaps one may say, "It is only a step"; but it matters much that it is forward, and not back. Listen to an old French proverb: "La distance vaut rien: ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte," — "The distance amounts to nothing: it is only the first step that costs." "C'est le premier pas qui coûte," — "It is the first step that costs." When this first costly step has been taken, progress is possible. There is no more fumbling in the dark for the keyhole. It is found. The door is open. Opportunity and responsibility stand hand in hand upon the threshold. There is no more blind work for results that are pitiful failures. If only the good and prosperous people in the world, the people with warm hearts and tender sympathies, could see the open door, and enter in, a better day would surely dawn; but most of them are like the Blind Spinner,— they feel at best only the small segment of the woof of life that passes through their own loom, and are unaware of the whole design.

The problems that we discuss to-day are the same old throbbing questions that have always agitated honest souls; and we are constrained to say, "There is nothing new under the sun." Plato evolved his Ideal Republic half a thousand years before the Christian era, and More's Utopia was born in a far-away time of corruption and ignorance. To the present we owe a well-directed, concentrated effort to help the poor and weak and submerged out of

their helplessness, and place them upon a solid footing, to lead them from darkness into light.

Friendly visiting is merely establishing human relations between man and man. There is no badge, no uniform, no herald. It is what one person, with more light and a firmer foothold, may do for his less favored brother. It is work for everybody. It requires no capital. The man with two talents need not wrap them in a napkin: he may make his investment here, and multiply it an hundredfold. Even in its most highly organized form, only two obligations are laid upon the friendly visitor. He must be a person with a willing heart, with tact, perseverance, and sympathy, who will promise to accept and perform the duties of the order. This is not work for a day. The friendly visitor enlists for life. To such persons the Charity Organization Society presents the name and address of one poor family who has applied either to the Charity Organization Society or to the city for material relief,— a member of the dependent class,— and bids the visitor go to this family, not as an agent or representative of the Charity Organization Society, even in the remotest sense. Connection with the organization is not to be mentioned, and no reports of this work should appear in the public press. The visitor should go as a personal *friend*, to enter into the household life, to discover its needs, its weak points and possibilities; to advise, encourage, and suggest; to lend a hand wherever it is needed, but never to hinder or hamper his work by doling out money, food, or raiment. It is his work to give that which is finer than the things that perish with the using. This means slow, steady, untiring, often painfully discouraging work. It demands a thorough personal acquaintance with the family. The visits must be made over and over again. This is not merely an investigation of conditions. The design of friendly visiting is not sociological research: it is constructive work.

The other obligation — and let it be borne in mind that it is of equal value — is the regular attendance upon the semi-monthly meeting of the conference of friendly visitors, where they may meet the committee and friends of the work, present reports of their several families, bring out all the lights and shades of their experience, consider further practical plans and methods, encourage and help each other, hear inspiring messages from some who have thought wisely along these lines, and kindle fresh enthusiasm. Theory may

receive inspiration from practice, practice welcome direction from theory. These sessions should have the privacy and seclusion of a family gathering. This is no star chamber. But banish the reporters: what is said and done must be *sub rosa*. Nothing can give solidarity and coherence to the work of friendly visiting so well as earnest, intelligent, sympathetic conference. This is a work that develops and unfolds before us vistas undreamed of. An ideal conference may be hard to find, but without question the principle is the right one. Friendly visiting is the work for the individual, and each one has his own personal contribution, the story of his own effort and experience to present to the conference.

The principle of charity is as old as time. Confucius and the Rig-Veda proclaimed it. Saint Paul declared that charity was the greatest thing in the world. Saint Anthony sold all that he had and gave to the poor, which might mean more or less. There was a poor tax in Athens, and even the savages upon our own Western plains cared for their weak and suffering; but this was spasmodic, sporadic, indiscriminate, often cruelly mistaken work. It has remained for organized charity to direct us in the application of the principle.

We are accustomed to give credit to Elberfeld, in Germany, for first establishing the work of friendly visiting, placing it under municipal control, and setting in operation a system that should revolutionize traditions. But we find that in the wealthy and intellectual city of Hamburg, late in the eighteenth century, a desolating plague called the attention of the burgomasters to the needs and abuses of poverty. For half a century men like Busch, Klopstock, and Lessing, had worked away at the great problems of relieving need and reducing beggary until in 1801 there was developed a plan known as the Hamburg Institution, of which wonderful results are told. Pamphlets setting forth the idea of the Hamburg Institution were sown broadcast all over Europe; and to this source can be directly traced wide-spread movements like the Elberfeld system, so justly celebrated, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and the work of friendly visiting practically developed in Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, and other American cities. John Morley characterized this great humanitarian revival of the latter half of the eighteenth century as "an undivided love of our fellows, steadfast faith in human nature, steadfast search after justice, and firm aspiration toward improvement."

Friendly visiting in Europe is a municipal requirement, a civic honor. In our own land it is a voluntary service; but the end sought is the same,—to relieve the world of its burden of crime and poverty, to help the helpless to help themselves, to banish slums, to break down the barriers between social extremes, to rescue the perishing.

All work for charity must be Christian. It is inspired by love to God and love to man. It is an assertion of human brotherhood, and this lightens the labor. A little girl was carrying a heavy child across the mud and mire of a city's crowded streets. A pitying stranger looked down upon her, and said, "Poor little one, how heavy he is!" But the little girl looked up with a radiant face, and said: "Heavy! why, he's my brother." Much has been said about the church universal. Pope and prelate, bishop and council, have formulated their several creeds; but in friendly visiting we find the church universal in active operation. Here all men are brothers. After all, hearts are alike in spite of conditions. How are we better than they, with the same bringing up? Do we not have the same "diseases, accomplishments, and sins"? Fine linen and royal purple and rags all tattered and torn clothe the same humanity. Truly, "the microbe *is* a social leveller." "As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man."

How to give wisely and well is a serious question. We can offer our dimes and dollars, our cast-off garments and the crumbs from our feasts, with a readier grace than the richer gift of ourselves. It is against tradition to turn the hungry beggar from our door. We would far rather fill his basket with cold pieces, but good sense and experience declare that by our misguided charity we are fostering pauperism. Lend him your brains, your time, your thought, and he will no longer be a beggar at your door.

I have said the friendly visitor must be a person of tact. Poverty is full of guile. It is easier to slide down grade to Avernus than to scale Olympian heights. Poverty is sinuous. It courts disguise. It loves to masquerade. The days have passed when hideous physical deformities were paraded before the gaze of a shuddering public upon our broad highways, as a plea for alms; but the same spirit lives under a more subtle guise. For example, a young man became a cripple,—no more football, no more long jumps, no more forced marches and grand parades. For him life had serious limi-

tations; but experience has shown that many a man may stump through the world on one foot, and earn an honest livelihood, while head and heart and hand are strong. What did this one do? He begged from door to door for money to buy a wooden leg. He found it very easy, and so he went on soliciting from a tender-hearted public unlimited wooden legs. There was a fascination in it, but here was *degeneration:* he had branded himself a beggar.

Again, a young man with a frank, guileless face and a fine physique presented from house to house a plea for charity. He had lost both hands. As he unveiled the still open and tender wounds, his undisguised helplessness made its own appeal. It touched a chord of spontaneous but unreasoning sympathy. Comfortable meals were spread before him. Wholesome food was fed to him. Gold and silver lined his pockets. There was a mysterious friend around the corner who always failed to appear when he was summoned. Grown unwary by success, it was plain at last that the poor fellow was making capital of his sore misfortune, deluding warm-hearted women and clear-headed financiers, and framing some new romance to account for his sad fate with each new victim. The world was before him. He could only exhaust one field to fly to pastures new. Here are opportunities for the exercise of the principle of friendly visiting. The poor fellow with or without a wooden leg could be directed to some legitimate self-supporting work, and braced up to do it; and for the other, in his great misfortune, humanity owed him a shelter and an opportunity for mental and moral expansion. Inasmuch as mind is superior to matter, there might yet be some service for him to do in the world. These may be extreme cases. They serve to point a moral. The married vagabond is always with us, and he is a hard nut to crack. He is mainly an idle, worthless fellow, a calamity to his own household and a pest to the community. The visitor is between Scylla and Charybdis in an honest effort to protect his family from suffering, and compel the worthless fellow to be a man among men, self-respecting and self-supporting. The good sense and tact of the friendly visitor must grapple with the situation. Medical science has put to practical use the method of skin-grafting and blood-infusion. Friendly visiting furnishes an exact parallel. The visitor must pour the clarified wine of his own life into his poorer brother's veins. He must heal his wounds with the gift of his own flesh.

Again, the friendly visitor must possess sympathy,— the finest kind, no weak and maudlin sentiment that spends itself in sighs and groans,— the sort that is patient and clear-sighted and is ready to bear another's burdens. It is sometimes urged that the methods of charity to-day are cold and scientific, that our benevolence is reduced to an algebraic formula. Sift out from the poor all the frauds, all the wilfully ignorant, all the shiftless and thriftless, there will still remain a residuum of helpless ones who must be the recipients of material relief. Childhood and old age must be cared for, poverty and sickness relieved. As a rule, the man in any station in life who will do his appointed task honestly, faithfully, thoroughly, for the work's sake, will keep his head above water; but there remain conditions so hard and bitter that even the bravest courage, the most careful thrift, will fail to overcome them. Work is not always waiting for the industrious. Put a "Want" advertisement in the paper, a score will answer it. A man working in a gun factory was killed. Eighty men applied for the vacant place. Within three weeks the accepted applicant was killed, and promptly forty men stepped forward to fill his place. What remained for the thirty-nine? But these conditions are rarely permanent. Well-directed sympathy with kind advice may help the helpless to help themselves. It is a tower of strength to any man to say, "I have a friend." Even in an extreme case the Charity Organization Society asks that the visitor should not be the immediate almoner of his gifts, but should direct his beneficence through some other channel.

The last equipment of the friendly visitor is perseverance. Very often the work is painfully slow. Another generation may garner the harvest. The sun breaks the winter's ice by long and steady shining. No one can force a social revolution. It must bide the "fulness of time," and the silent forces are the strong ones. The prophet did not hear God speaking in the whirlwind or the storm, but in the still, small voice. One of the most disheartening features of poverty is its contentment, its utter lack of aspiration. To plant and encourage the seeds of right desires demands a patient hand. This is not brilliant work, but it pays in the end. Some one has said that a farthing rushlight will do more to illuminate a dark corner than a streak of lightning. It is sometimes urged that the poor do not want the finer gifts of friendship. Would we leave our cities to reek with filth and malaria for lack of proper sanitation?

The most direct and practical way to secure a band of friendly visitors is through the local churches. An audience with the different clergymen of the city was sought in Grand Rapids, resulting in a gathering numerically small, but eminently representative.

The platform of Christian charity is broad enough for every man. Ritualist and Romanist, Christian and Jew, Methodist and Salvationist, may unite in this work, and be all the better for doing it. The plans and methods of friendly visiting were presented and freely discussed. From each pastor was secured a list of pledged visitors, making at the inception of this work a company of about seventy. In some of the larger cities, where friendly visiting has been longer established, many times this number are enlisted. This naturally brought together a great variety of experience and sentiment, exactly what was needed to organize a successful band of visitors.

Friendly visitors are generally women. Work demanding sympathy and patience naturally comes to them; but a man's hand and voice and knowledge of the ways of the world are often needed, and the work makes a strong appeal to young men and maidens. To each friendly visitor the Charity Organization Society presented a statement of the conditions of the family he was asked to visit, the number of members, their ages, and a general view of the situation; and with this introduction he was left to his own tact, sympathy, and perseverance. Let the value of the semi-monthly conference be again emphasized. Here is co-operation. The visitors need training. Old ideas of charity are ingrained. The sociological discussions of the present are full of fresh interest. A sweet song is an inspiration. Literature is a mine of wealth. A short programme, in addition to the visitor's reports, will make the conference a help and an attraction.

How shall the visitor begin? The ways are manifold,— the children, the weather, the conditions of the family. One busy schoolteacher invited her poor old woman to visit her upon her one half-holiday, while they talked over patchwork. A thrifty housekeeper carried to her poorer neighbor across the street the scrapings from the table to feed the chickens. In homely, common ways an entrance may be made.

What are the results of friendly visiting? To the visitor, first of all, there is infinite gain. The stream will never rise higher than its source. No man can help his neighbor to be a better man than he

is himself. More than any other form of service, this develops personal character. Let the visitor give himself lavishly, and his own life will be a miracle of flower and fruit. There is no higher type of the friendly visitor than the Lord himself, who came among us to give light and life, and to give it more abundantly, to bid the lame man to run, the blind man to open his eyes and read, the deaf man to unstop his closed ears and listen to the wonderful words of life. This exactly anticipates the work of the friendly visitor.

Over and above all other qualifications there must be first a willing mind. This is a voluntary service. It beckons to its ranks men of wealth, of brain and character.

> "God can never make man's best
> Without best men to help him."

When William Morris chose to be a friend to labor rather than poet laureate of England, he entered the ranks of friendly visiting.

What is the gain to the families? A chronic invalid has been taught the simple laws of hygiene, a pitiful disorder cured, and life made sweet and wholesome. A poor old woman, crippled and helpless, has been encouraged to revive a long-forgotten industry, and knit some lace, which her visitor sold. An idle, loafing boy, dependent upon his mother, has been compelled to earn his own living. These and many others.

We are told that the elements of a well-rounded character are health, knowledge, sociability, taste, and righteousness. To produce a world of just such people must be the object of the friendly visitor, then there will be an upward trend. The convict's dress will be folded and laid aside, for there will be no one to wear it. Prison doors will be unbarred, for the cells will be empty. Almshouses will be closed, for there will be no more poor. But this is a vision. Meanwhile friendly visiting is a step in the right direction. It folds within it, as the germ in the seed, all the elements of the social settlement idea. It is a social settlement in embryo.

IX.

City and County Charities.

OUTDOOR RELIEF AS ADMINISTERED IN ST. PAUL.

BY JAMES F. JACKSON,

SECRETARY ASSOCIATED CHARITIES.

Outdoor relief is provided for the needy members of a community by taxation on the property of that community. In St. Paul the administration of the fund raised by this taxation is one of the duties of the Board of Control, which consists of three members.

The method of appointing this board is unique, and appointments to the board are uninfluenced by political considerations. The full bench of judges for the district in which St. Paul is located, each July, appoints one member of the Board of Control for a term of three years. At the expiration of the term members are usually reappointed. This board has full charge of the city and county almshouse, hospital, and outdoor relief. It has rooms in the city and county building, and is provided with a paid secretary. This paper has reference only to its work of public relief in the city of St. Paul. There are advantages in a board of three for the consideration of important matters, but it is unfortunate that an applicant for aid must address so many. However, only one applicant is before the board at a time. Persistent effort is made to have the man himself apply when he is physically able, and no children are allowed to apply.

The board aims at aid rather than maintenance. The matter of transportation has been conducted with strict regard to the rights of all concerned. Full transportation is never provided to any considerable distance, and no part is paid except for good reason. Half-rate permits were granted to worthy applicants until lately,

when that privilege was revoked by the Traffic Association because of the alleged misuse of the same privilege in other cities. The board pays for medicines used by the city physicians in patients' homes, and it provides for burials in the potter's field on the poor farm. If burial occurs elsewhere, the board will bear no part of the expense. Rent is paid for no one. Shoes and clothing are occasionally given, but not to an amount exceeding an average of $2.00 per month. Not more than $2.50 worth of either food or fuel is given in one order; and no more than one order of the same sort is given in a month, and then only to those who have a residence of one year or more. All articles issued by the board are purchased from the lowest responsible bidders.

During 1895 food and fuel were issued to the value of $8,360. Considering the above, and the larger statements made by most such bodies, it seems strange that in 1878, in the dead of winter, the city of Brooklyn ceased outdoor relief without increasing suffering or the burdens of other charities, and that the next year Philadelphia tried the same experiment with the same result. We have reason to wonder why so few cities have followed that course, especially as one authority says that "outdoor relief is as catching as small-pox, and almost as deadly." And a Philadelphia authority says, "Cut off outdoor relief, and you have cut the tap-root of the noxious tree of pauperism." Nevertheless, the fact of public relief is not optional with the Board of Control. Public relief may be unnecessary; but, while it exists, it should be conducted on the best known principles. Accordingly, it is the duty and intention of the board to accomplish the largest amount of good with the least necessary expenditure of public funds. Distress caused by emergencies must somehow be relieved, and disagreeable people should sometimes have continued relief in their homes. How best to aid without pauperizing is the problem. Pauperism is a disease, and its cure should actuate all charitable effort. Outdoor relief often produces pauperism; but it is held responsible for much pauperism with which it is left to deal, although it had small part in its development.

One chief objection to public relief is removed in St. Paul, since by the method of its appointment the acts of the board are out of politics. In fact, the occasional applications made through public officials receive the same treatment that is accorded any other application.

A gentleman who has given much study to charity says that "public relief is a child of the devil, and chiefly serves him." If so, in St. Paul the unique method of appointment has entirely robbed him of one horn, and the other horn is knocked off by a plan almost equally unique; *i.e.*, the employment of the Associated Charities to investigate the condition of every applicant for public relief, and to reinvestigate as often as seems needful to the board.

The Associated Charities is a mutual association of local charities, comprising forty-five organizations. It maintains a central bureau of information, which shows in compact form all the reported aid given by the various charities in the city, as well as the results of all investigations made by the Associated Charities. As one of the fully co-operating organizations, the Board of Control secures kindly, thorough, impartial investigations; and the benefits of the bureau of information avoids the overlapping of relief, secures for some of its applicants the effective interest of the friendly visitors, the co-operation of the organizations, and, when possible, voluntary relief for the applicant. On its part, by giving or refusing, the board co-operates fully with all the affiliated societies.

The interests of many families are best secured by a refusal, and a just refusal inspires the applicant and her numerous friends with a confidence that real need will receive just treatment. Justice is more important than alms.

Only considerations of the public good can justify public officials in taking money from the majority of the people to help the few. As a rule, when granting relief, only the tax-payers and the recipients are considered; but the moral effect upon the recipient's neighbors produced by the granting of this relief is a consideration which should not be ignored. Although not commonly so regarded, I believe the chief effect of public relief is the moral influence upon the community. After the evils of political influence, lax investigation, and insufficient co-operation, is not the moral effect the essence of all other objections to outdoor relief? Political influence can be removed, investigation and co-operation can be made more complete in the hands of public officials than it is liable to be with scores of individuals. But in the very nature of the case the tax-payer cannot enjoy the pleasure of doing good to recipients of public relief, nor can he profit by the development of sympathies resulting from personal relief of distress. He shuts himself to the cry of the needy

more than he otherwise would; for he feels that he has paid his portion of the cost, and that there are public officials who must see that no unnecessary suffering exists. On the other hand, the recipient of public favors is not moved with the sense of gratitude which would be helpful to him, and lacks the encouragement and sympathy which must be personal to be effective. A further moral effect of public aid is its influence on those who naturally want their share of whatever may be obtained for nothing. If it is not received, they help swell the feeling of dissatisfacion with local government, and thence with all authority.

Another inherent objection to public aid is that the applicant believes aid to come from a limitless source, therefore he need not hesitate about receiving it when conditions are not really extreme nor after the emergency is past: whereas, if help were to come directly from the earnings of a friend, the unnecessary calls might not be made. Human nature is wonderfully alike everywhere; and all have doubtless observed that public relief, though first given in a real emergency, easily comes to be claimed as a sort of right, especially by former tax-payers and their children, who seem to think that too close examination pending relief is rather an impertinence. I have been told by applicants that my investigations were entirely too particular when they "simply wanted a speck of flour and a pinch of tea from a fund raised for the express purpose of helping poor folks."

Mrs. C. R. Lowell says, "The less that is given, the better for every one, giver and receiver"; and, therefore, the conditions must be hard, although never degrading. On the contrary, they must be elevating, — and this is by no means incompatible with severity,— "so that no one shall accept save in an extremity." The past winter the board arranged to make conditions both more severe and more elevating, by giving no fuel to families where there was an able-bodied man except he actually earned it by sawing wood. The plan worked well. It was gratefully received by the industrious, and it compelled the shiftless to work hard to make other arrangements. In either case the cost of wood was saved, and no serious complaint was made. The board is considering plans to extend the principle of making employment the basis of relief, so as to include the women, even though it be attended by an initial expenditure; for in the long run it will surely be an economy of money and a saving in manhood and womanhood.

It is a critical time for the applicant when he first applies for aid; and, the more personality that can be put in his treatment, the better. If for public relief there could be substituted wise personal attention to the unfortunate on the part of the more capable and fortunate members of society, there would be developed sympathy and consideration on one hand, and self-respect and self-reliance on the other. This course would be a blessing to all concerned, and would avoid the demoralizing tendencies incident to receiving from the public something for nothing, for whatever reason.

If public relief were abolished, different problems would confront us; and it would be necessary that great effort be made to better educate the public as to the evils of indiscriminate giving, for the pitiable beggar would then have a fine excuse. It is a physical impossibility that adequate personal attention be given by the most devoted public officials in any city. In St. Paul the conditions are not especially hard; for, according to Professor Graham Taylor, we have no slums. Moreover, the difficulties are as effectually reduced there as in any city within my knowledge, because of the relation existing between the public relief authorities and the local charities, which can and do bring moral influences to bear upon applicants.

The prime object of charity is not to spend greater or less sums of money, but to uplift humanity. Charity means love, and the acceptance of goods from an agency that is not believed to be actuated by human interest and sympathy will more likely harm than help the recipient. "Alms-giving, while it may be the expression, is never the essence of charity."

POOR ASYLUM DISCIPLINE.

BY ERNEST BICKNELL,

SECRETARY STATE BOARD OF INDIANA.

The first essential to good discipline in a poor asylum is the right kind of a superintendent. There is no danger of getting too good a man for the place. The position is an important one, since the happiness and welfare of many helpless and unfortunate people depend upon the faithfulness with which he discharges his duties. The superintendent should be a man of that humane spirit which consciously or unconsciously leads him to recognize fellow-creatures in the unfortunates in his charge, and prevents him from forgetting this relationship under any stress of circumstances which may arise. Coupled with this spirit must be sympathy and sound judgment, which will avoid extremes of leniency and severity, and will not be driven into injustice by passion or prejudice. The business and executive capabilities of the superintendent must also be undoubted, and he must be sound morally. The matron should reflect the same qualities which have been prescribed as necessary to the superintendent.

But such people are hard to find? True. Can they be found?

Perhaps not, to perfectly fit the requirements set down; but good and true men and women, coming very nearly up to this high standard, can be found. They are successful in their own affairs, and do not need public position in order to make a living; but they can be secured if proper effort is made. It is unnecessary to say that they should be well paid or to add that they are cheaper at a high price than are unfit persons who may be had for their board and clothes.

Having obtained a superintendent and wife of the right kind, what counsel shall we give them?

First, do not through kindly feeling be on too familiar terms with the inmates. Draw a plain and unmistakable line between your own domestic affairs and the affairs of the asylum. Do not allow the inmates to lounge in or around your own private quarters. Treat the inmates quietly and respectfully. Show them such courtesies as "Thank you," "If you please," "Good-morning," "That's right," and many others which cost nothing to the giver, but are

valuable to the recipient. Jokes are dangerous, but a simple one that doesn't hurt anybody's feelings is not a bad thing occasionally to dispel the gloom which is likely to hang heavy over a poorhouse. Knock on the doors of the inmates' rooms before entering. The kind of a superintendent I am dealing with here would never use profane or vulgar language in his intercourse with inmates. So I need not stop to condemn those practices, though they deserve the severest possible condemnation. Do not encourage any advances toward familiarity on the part of the inmates. It may be stated that the slightest encouragement in this direction will be speedily taken advantage of. When I visit a poor asylum, and hear the inmates address the superintendent as "John" or "Bill," I know without further investigation that discipline in that institution is not what it should be. Not long ago I helped a county get rid of a poor asylum superintendent. He was a good-hearted man, and his wife was a good woman. But the inmates in speaking to them called him "Jack" and her "Mariar." There was the general looseness of affairs which this would indicate, and they had to go.

Second, be kind, but firm as a rock. Let your hand be steel, but cover it with the proverbial velvet glove. The people in your care must understand that you will not issue an order or make a rule until you are certain you are right; and, when the order or rule is made, they must know that it is to be obeyed to the letter. They will try a good many experiments before they will be convinced of these things, and will make trouble for you; but in time they will accept you on your own conditions, and respect you for your firmness. A caution should be dropped in right here against making too many rules. The thing may be very easily overdone. If you have a great many rules, you are likely to find that you will have to make frequent exceptions to them, or, in other words, permit them to be violated in special cases. When you begin that, you might almost as well abolish them at once. A lot of rules, too, tend to make the asylum too much like a machine. It is absolutely necessary to have system and order, but you must allow yourself enough latitude to make special regulations for special cases. A rule that would be easy for nine inmates to obey might be a serious hardship or injustice to the tenth. Each inmate has his own individuality; and, if this fact is not recognized, the superintendent and inmate will both be in hot water much of the time.

Third, be systematic. Every poor asylum inmate should be employed at something, if he has wit enough to understand simple instructions or strength to go about. The work need not be heavy. Gauge it to the person who is to do it. When you find that an inmate can do a certain piece of work, let him have that particular thing for his regular duty, and hold him responsible for it. He will then not have to be constantly looked after, will feel contented and easy in knowing exactly what is required of him, and will become more useful because constant practice will train him. The superintendent, being to a certain extent relieved of the care of this inmate, will have more time for other affairs, and will know where to fix the blame if this particular work is neglected. Idiots of the lowest grade, with some careful assistance at the beginning, may sometimes be made very faithful and useful by this plan of management. I do not know of any kind of institution, public or private, in which disorder and confusion are so prone to flourish and so hard to prevent as in poorhouses.

Fourth, you will have to meet and in some manner dispose of the sex problem very soon after you take charge of the asylum. The system which places paupers of both sexes under the same roof probably has been the indirect cause of more trouble to superintendents than any other difficulty which has to be solved. There are times when it almost seems necessary to remove the velvet glove from the hand of steel in dealing with the relations of the sexes in the asylums. The low and vicious tendencies of many of the paupers, both male and female, are vivified and excited by this proximity; and enough ingenuity is expended in planning evil to earn an honest livelihood for the schemers, if turned in proper channels. The proper separation of the sexes twenty-four hours every day is essential to good discipline.

Fifth, let your government be quiet, steady, certain. Don't get excited under annoyance, not even under exasperation. Don't enforce orders and rules rigidly one day, and allow them to be violated with impunity the next. Tell the inmates the strict truth at all times. It may hurt in some cases, but not so badly as it will if it comes later, and gives the lie to what you have previously said. Don't allow profane language among the inmates. Give attention to the food on the inmate's table. Cleanliness and decent cooking and appetizing serving do not cost anything extra. Even variety and

some vegetables and fruits in season are inexpensive and worth more than they cost in the contentment and good will which they inspire in the inmates. Insist on scrupulous cleanliness high and low. Scrub the floors, scrub the furniture, scrub the people. Whether we live well or ill is much a matter of habit. It is the same with paupers. Require right living of them. It will be hard at first, and they will complain bitterly, and say ugly things about you. In a little while habit will get hold of them, and they will fall into the right way and be content.

Finally, to sum it all up, let the superintendent be the kind of man I have described, let him carefully consider the suggestions which I have made and a thousand others which will make themselves, then let him act according to his own judgment, and there is every reason to believe that he will succeed.

THE RELATION OF MUNICIPAL AND COUNTY CHARITIES TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

BY EMILY E. WILLIAMSON,

SECRETARY OF NEW JERSEY STATE BOARD.

"The term 'Commonwealth' is applied to governments which are considered free or popular. The word signifies strictly the common good or happiness."

The relation of municipal and county charities to the common good or happiness of the citizens of this great republic is a vital point which should engage the minds of all thinking men and women. It seems clear that reforms in municipal affairs must be the starting-point for reforms in county and State, so it is manifestly the duty of each citizen to know the conditions which surround the candidates for office in his municipality.

With the education of the tax-payer there will come about a purer administrative system, which will inevitably result in the tax-payer's seeking for a purer form of government for the whole; and this education in municipal affairs will show its effect in every branch of county, State, or national government.

Each year in different sections of this republic we find that the public ask for and demand better and purer administration of municipal affairs, and the result of this is found in the better management of the tax-payer's charities.

Each year money is being more wisely appropriated for the support of the dependants, defectives, and paupers and criminals; and sentimentalism, which does not look to the ultimate good of the recipient, is fast disappearing. All this has been the outcome to a great extent of the meeting together in general conference of the men and women who are working along the same lines; and, as an outcome of this influence, the application of individual methods approved by the majority is bringing about great results in the management of the classes of persons above mentioned.

The Tax-payer's Charities.

Very few tax-payers realize the meaning and responsibility which attach to the above term. Charity is that disposition of the heart which inclines men to think favorably of their fellow-men and to do them good, and it must necessarily consist of a liberality in judging men and their actions. In this lies the responsibility which should commend itself to the minds of all rightly disposed tax-payers, when considering in all its aspects the tax-payer's charities and the proper use of appropriated moneys, guarding alike the recipient and the tax-payer. No moneys should be spent in pauperizing the recipient: this would be also wasting the tax-payer's money. It is the duty of each city, county, and State, to take care of its defectives and dependants; but it is also their duty to do this in such a way as to prevent the increase of this class in the community.

The following are a few suggestions that will help to remedy the indiscriminate, unwise, and improper use of the tax-payer's money for public charities

First, in every city let all able-bodied persons support themselves.

Second, let the better class of citizens show the respect that is due to all self-supporting persons, and, further, assist those persons in obtaining employment.

Third, let the educational advantages be of the best, and include industrial training and the kitchen and kindergarten.

Fourth, in the management of the various institutions supported by the tax-payer let the best known methods be adopted. Simple methods, cleanliness, and work for all should be the aim of managers of such institutions.

Fifth, let all persons who are able to do so take care of their aged and infirm relatives, and the almshouses be used only by persons who have no one to care for them. In most of the States of the Union this has been regulated by law; but the enforcement of this law has been found difficult to accomplish, because commitments to the almshouses are used by politicians to gain votes, by relieving the young of the support of aged and infirm relatives. If the almshouses of the country were closed, and the few who should be properly taken care of by the tax-payers placed in private charitable institutions, good results would be shown at once.

Sixth, let there be proper care of dependent and defective children. I would urge an industrial education for these waifs in a State manual school, which shall give them a school-book education and a thorough industrial training, making of the boys blacksmiths, carpenters, and artisans, and helping the girls to fill properly their places in life. A poorhouse school with the title pauper is not a fit place for the young. In all reformatory work it is with the children we must begin. If we prevent contamination by association, we have taken a long step in the direction of reform.

Seventh, let there be the universal adoption of the probation system and the indeterminate sentence. Many grave and serious questions have arisen in regard to the care and punishment of the refractory classes. The lack of work in jails is recognized as a serious evil. Idle prisoners are bound to injure one another. Good hard work must be one of the conditions in all reformatory institutions. It is bad policy to neglect the employment of prisoners. At present the jails are comfortable stopping-places for rounders who live in ease and almost comfort, at the expense of the tax-payers. The cost of commitments is a heavy drain; and it is a well-known fact that, should our jails be equipped with the means of employing prisoners with work suited to their age and conditions, the commitments would be greatly reduced. Surely, the tax-payer should not be called upon to support the common vagrants who go in and out of the county jail. After the first commitment the stigma is no longer felt. It seems desirable that our courts should, where pos-

sible, suspend first sentences. Also, some law should be enacted which would send the prisoner after the second commitment to either prison or penitentiary for an indeterminate sentence.

In a magazine article Mr. Elijah C. Foster says: —

The increase of crime . . . is not in the serious class of offences against person and property, known as "felonies," but in petty offences or misdemeanors, which include the vast horde of drunkards that appear daily in our police courts, where is heard the monotonous sentence, "Thirty days." This is the strategic point for the application of the "reform system." This, however, cannot be applied without a change in our criminal codes and many of the police regulations. In making these changes, the State should abandon all idea of short sentences as punishment.

Imprisonment for the first offence should be isolated, so that the bad may not get worse; and those that are not inherently criminal may not be contaminated by the criminal element.

On the second offence let these offenders be taken into the custody of the State or city as an element too dangerous to be at large. Let their place of imprisonment be similar in discipline and work to the reformatories and prisons. Let the sentence be indeterminate, and these offenders be given to understand that they cannot again have their liberty until they have developed such qualifications as a Board of Pardons would regard as an evidence of fitness for restoration to freedom and citizenship.

Can this be done? Yes: in law, as in morals, "that can be done which ought to be done."

What shall be done to stem the tide of increasing immorality, vice, and crime, with its necessary accompaniments, — degradation and pauperism? It is a vital question that touches us all.

X.

Soldiers' Homes and Pensions.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOMES FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

The work of your Committee on Homes for Soldiers and Sailors has been designed to unify effort in the promotion of wise methods to secure the comfort of comrades who seek shelter from the storms of adversity which creep upon them with the passing years. In pursuance of the effort to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of officials charged with the duties of managing the several homes, in a conference system of study and comparison of methods, the following circular letter was addressed to them by the chairman of the committee: —

COMMITTEE ON HOMES FOR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN,
ATCHISON, KAN., March 25, 1896.

Dear Sir,— The National Conference of Charities and Correction has opened its doors for the organization of a section on Homes for Soldiers and Sailors. The Conference may properly be designated as a Department School for the study and comparison of laws and methods governing the management of the various interests which come within the scope of this inquiry. Officials and others interested in any particular branch of service included in the Conference organization find in the section meetings an opportunity for the study of their especial work, while the general sessions are devoted to the discussions of plans for the advancement of mutual interests.

The advantages offered in reduced rates for travel and entertainment, and in the publication and distribution of statistics and reports, are superior to those which may be enjoyed by independent associations; and the influence of the Conference in the discovery of correct methods and the encouragement of wise legislation has steadily grown during each succeeding year of its organization.

The Conference does not make platforms or formulate opinions, except as the same may bear the seal of substantial unanimity; and its proceedings are not subject to embarrassment on account of difference in politics or religion. You are

cordially invited to identify your work with that of the Conference, to attend its sessions, subscribe for its reports, and aid its purposes by official recognition and encouragement. Sincerely yours,

C. E. Faulkner, *Chairman.*
General W. W. Averell.
Major R. H. Dudley.
L. G. Rutherford.
Edgar E. Clough.
Major N. V. Randolph.
Dr. E. V. Stoddard.
Colonel John Tracey.
Captain H. A. Castle.
J. H. Woodnorth.
Mrs. L. A. Bates.

The responses to this invitation indicate an approval of the Conference methods proposed, but suggest some difficulties in the way of acceptance which may properly be referred to in this report.

First may be mentioned the disinclination of officials identified with the work of the several homes to become members of a conference without the encouraging approval of their several boards of managers.

Second, no provision is made under federal law for the payment of the expenses of managers or officers of the National Home in attending such conferences; and but few, if any, of the officials of the State homes are favored with such provision.

Your committee can render no better service to the important interests confided to its study than to urge the adoption of such action in the legislative councils of State and nation as will encourage the attendance upon an annual conference school of those who assume the duties and responsibilities of conducting these homes in a manner creditable to their needs and to the spirit of patriotism and humanity which supports them.

With this aim in view, we respectfully submit the following draft of a preamble and resolution, and urge its adoption and transmission by the proper officers of the Conference to Congress and the State legislatures at the appropriate times of their sessions: —

Whereas the proper care and comfort of the disabled soldiers and sailors of our country is a sacred charge upon American citizenship, which taxes every resource of skill in its accomplishment which experience may supply; and

Whereas the experience in State and nation exemplified in the management of the several homes for soldiers and sailors affords a source of instruction important to the improvement of methods,—

Therefore, *Resolved*, by the National Conference of Charities and Correction in convention assembled, That we recommend to the

legislatures of State and nation the propriety of such action as will encourage the attendance of officials connected with the management of these institutions in an annual conference for the study and comparison of methods and the interchange of opinions upon questions of common interest, to the end that progress in efficiency may be promoted.

The painstaking findings of a conference of such officials meeting in annual session cannot fail to find a welcome in the legislative councils of State and nation; and the resulting improvement in law and method will inspire confidence, and spur the accomplishment of desired ends. It may not be inappropriate to suggest some of the questions which present themselves for consideration, and which can best be met by those who are in constant touch with the conditions from which they spring. If these be discussed in separate official reports addressed to many legislative bodies, even though harmonious in design, the treatment often fails because of a lack of influence attendant upon isolated effort.

In the management of the several homes established for the care of the failing soldiers and sailors of the country the ordinary requirements for shelter, food, clothing, and hospital service, may be met with the usual judgment which is exercised in the transaction of similar business; but graver questions press for solution, which demand wise treatment, and which can best be considered in the larger convention suggested. The loss of independence, individuality, and self-esteem, incurred under many systems of congregate living, with the necessary discipline incident thereto, and the sacrifice of the restraining influences of domestic and social ties, is frequently destructive of moral stamina and the finer fibre of manhood so dear to the heart of every true American. The poetry of water, music, and flowers, may charm away the dulness of the passing hours for a time; but repetition soon chills the zest of enjoyment, and the spirit of unrest reigns with power. The depressing influence of idleness in many of the homes bears fruit in kind; and panderers to lust and license, who hover like vultures without the limits of official supervision, find ready prey for their unholy practices.

So far as industrial diversion may be made a shield against the hopelessness of idleness and a minister to the cravings of a pure manhood, it should be developed in every attraction and convenience, and the soul saved should hold the balance against the cost of

the saving. *Economy is that which does best that which is worth doing.*

A prominent source of complaint peculiar to some homes results from an uncongenial association in dormitory and dining-room. This inconvenience will be understood by all who shared the comradeships of army life. Plans to lessen the difficulty are worthy of careful study. From some of the homes appeals have been made, that a commutation of the cost of support may be made, to enable those properly situated to do so to resume home life with relatives or friends. If such a policy be practicable, the happiness of those concerned may be promoted, and the room thus vacated be utilized for the reception of other worthy applicants for shelter.

The movement of the population of all homes will soon fill the walks which lead to the hospitals. The enlarging sphere of medical and surgical service demands thorough organization of the best talent which may be encouraged to enter this great field of patriotic endeavor, and a director at the head whose will in his special department shall be supreme law to every associating official.

The adjustment of a transfer system, whereby the health and convenience of inmates may be improved through a change of climate, diet, and surroundings, is a blessing to be hoped for as soon as a practicable system may be devised.

These and kindred questions intrude themselves upon public notice, and deserve a more thorough study than can be given under the independent methods peculiar to our State and federal systems.

Statistical information relating to all the homes in the country maintained for the care of the Union soldiers and sailors will be available for publication in the statistical reports of this Conference. Those relating to the Confederate soldiers' homes will be published as complete as possible.

The struggle and personal sacrifice involved in the support of the homes for the failing veterans of the Southern army are creditable to the ties of comradeship formed in the blaze of battle. Many appeals to the legislatures of the States which sent them forth to win a new confederacy fall on younger ears, insensible to the truth that American citizenship is best adorned with the jewels of consistency and humanity. A poorhouse is no fit shelter for a soldier, and the bitterness of ingratitude should not be permitted to harass his last march.

On behalf of the several interests represented by the committee, we return thanks to this Conference for the aid extended and the opportunities afforded.

C. E. Faulkner.
General W. W. Averell.
Major R. H. Dudley.
General L. G. Rutherford.
Edgar E. Clough.
Major N. V. Randolph.
Dr. E. V. Stoddard.
Colonel John Tracey.
Captain H. A. Castle.
J. H. Woodnorth.
Mrs. L. A. Bates.

STATE SOLDIERS' HOMES.

BY COLONEL EDGAR E. CLOUGH,

PRESIDENT BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS, NORTH DAKOTA SOLDIERS' HOME.

From the earliest times there have been wars between nations. Wars necessitated the creating of armies maintained for and trained to the profession of arms. War means to fight, fight means to maim or to kill: often the latter is the more to be desired. The battle is only the climax of army life, and lasts but for a brief time when compared with the whole period of service. The real wastage of war is in the camping, marching, and exposure incident to every war. After the war the sick and the maimed are left as its legacy to that generation. These men, being no longer capable of service, are of no farther value as soldiers, and hence are discharged into the ranks of civil life. What has become of them in the past is a question upon which history is strangely silent. We hear the story of the field, but not of the hospital. We hear of the column of stalwarts who went to the front, but nothing about the wounded who hobbled to the rear. Yet to these sufferers this has been in all ages the vital question, which usually found its only answer in the beggar's plea. Occasionally a gifted one turned minstrel, and with song and story of adventure amused the crowds for money, and so eked out a more independent existence. But to them all the end of the war was the beginning of want and suffering.

The first attempt at the alleviation of their needs was in govern-

ment pensions, which were never adequate for a comfortable support. As soon as almshouses became general, the old veterans drifted into them, because there they found shelter, warmth, food, a bed, clothes, and some care, and at last a grave in the potter's field in a pauper's coffin.

Think of one of Wellington's men of Waterloo, or of Wolfe's men of Quebec, or of Washington's men of Valley Forge and Yorktown, wearing the brand of a pauper! Yet, doubtless, that actually occurred; for at one time since our last war twenty thousand veterans were in the various poorhouses. But heroism recoiled from this with patriotic horror. For is it not historic that no pauper ever becomes a patriot? Then why allow a patriot to become a pauper? Out of this spirit was born the soldiers' home idea.

In May, 1862, when many were returning from the war, discharged because of wounds or sickness, without homes or means of support, the patriotic and philanthropic citizens of Boston and vicinity perfected the organization for a home for discharged soldiers. Rev. Phineas Howe, a devoted friend of the seamen, brought this matter to the attention of David Tenny, a merchant, who immediately placed a large warehouse at the disposal of the committee for this purpose, and gave a liberal sum of money toward its maintenance. This home was formally opened with religious services July 4, 1862, with about forty inmates.

In July, 1863, the city of Boston granted the association the use of a commodious house on Springfield Street, wherein the home was maintained until 1890, having cared for 3,743 discharged veterans. Here again we see Boston sending out the signal of patriotic philanthropy. New Jersey next undertook the work. A bill was passed March 23, 1865; and for the year ending November, 1865, this State had cared for 94 members. But here matters came to a halt until 1867, when the general government opened homes at several points. This was done on the theory that, as the soldier served under the flag and orders of the general government, it should provide him a home in his homelessness.

In 1867 the government proved the genuineness of its generosity by establishing seven national homes. But these were soon filled, and the doors were shut.

The management of soldiers' homes is an evolution, and soon some things became strikingly apparent.

1. That the seven homes were in no sense adequate to provide for the demand.

2. That they were necessarily located at too great a distance from many deserving veterans.

3. That such an aggregation of members required a military organization to maintain order and command respect.

This gave to the institutions more of the character of military posts than of homes as designed. It is one thing to keep a hotel, to manage a hospital, to command a military post. It is quite another thing to make a congenial home in which old men are to spend their latest days, and in which they are to die. The home idea appealed to the hearts of American patriots.

Wisconsin veterans, becoming familiar with the advantages and disadvantages of the Milwaukee Branch, conceived the idea of founding a home for the veterans residing in their own State and so began the home at Waupaca at their own charge. The State Encampment and the Woman's Relief Corps became responsible for its support, and they wrought heroically. Then they widened their philanthropy. They asked how John was better than the girl he left behind him, why a poor old man should be separated from his wife, he to go to the Soldiers' Home and she to the poorhouse, if the pension was not adequate for her support. They answered by making provision for all. When the home was well under way, that great State bent its shoulder, and took the burden from the Grand Army.

New York founded a home at Bath. Between 1885 and 1889 many States established homes. In 1889 Congress appropriated a sum of money for this purpose, and continues it from year to year, allowing the boards of managers of national homes to pay to the treasurer of any State maintaining a home $100 per annum, payable quarterly, for every man actually present in the home, on reports from these homes made every ten days and every three months.

This possibly spurred on other States, until in 1895 twenty-two States had homes in operation, and three others in process of erection. One year ago these homes had an aggregate membership of 8,087, and had cared for over 13,000 different members during the year.

Some of these homes are small, but necessary. Five have less than 100 inmates. Four have more than 100, but less than 200;

five, more than 200, but less than 400; four, more than 400, but less than 500. While three, New York, Illinois, and Ohio, have each upward of 1,000 members, Ohio having 1,200.

So far as I know, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska admit women; Kansas, whole families, regardless of numbers and ages.

The advantages or peculiarities of State homes may be summed up as follows: being smaller, there is less of the military method in their administration. The commandant and matron come in closer and more sympathetic contact with the individual members, and hence there is more family feeling. The membership, being limited to one State and usually recommended by a Grand Army post, is seen to be of a higher standard morally than when the men drift from a long distance. The family is also likely to be made up of men more thoroughly disabled, and older and more dependent. Then, as the tax-payers contribute more directly to its support, there is more interest taken in the home, and more sympathy will be shown to its members. The people being in closer contact with its purposes and its membership, the atmosphere that surrounds it will be one of interest in and sympathy with the membership.

It is not enough that these veterans be fed and clothed and sheltered when well, and nursed when sick; but they must have the inspiration of patriotic Christian sympathy.

Benjamin Fitch, working away in his little shoe factory in Connecticut, thought out and planted one of the most useful charities of his kind-hearted Commonwealth, when he said, "I will give these acres and this little shop for a home, and will become responsible for the maintenance of nine members," which by solicitation he increased to fifty; and he kindled like sentiments throughout the State until the legislature took it off from his hands. He contributed as much to the cause of patriotism as the erection of a dozen triumphal arches, like the one of which the city of Hartford is so justly proud, could do. It taught the world that the people of a republic are grateful, and that that gratitude is not expressed alone in the spasmodic or impulsive giving to erect some monument, but in the patient and persevering support of the homes of its feeble defenders,— a support that shall be continued until the last veteran has been lovingly tucked away in the generous bosom of mother earth.

The States are thus taught to feel that they are fractions of this

great nation, that from them flows not only power and money, but a share in the relief of the nation's wards, and sympathy with the survivors among the nation's defenders, resulting in the most ample providence and the sturdiest protection.

We claim for the State homes that they more nearly reach the ideal of a home than can the national; that they locally supplement the inadequacy of the national homes; that, being smaller, they give to the individual member more personal attention and sympathy; that they exercise a better moral influence over each member, and thus the aggregate creates a safer moral atmosphere for the home; that they touch the hearts of patriotic people as national homes cannot; that they do something toward the preservation of the families of the aged yet dependent veterans; that they show regard for the lone but patriotic widow, who has grown gray in companionship with the veteran.

The finest instances of philanthropic patriotism are in States like the Dakotas and Wyoming, that during the war were then without population or organization, the Dakotas enlisting but 206 men to defend the frontier against the Indian. And yet two fine homes have been provided; and up to this date nearly 600 old veterans have been cared for, and of these only 5 were of their 206.

Older State homes have the stimulus of old army organizations behind them. These new homes gather only the scattered fragments of the many.

The State homes, like the national, suffer from a small percentage of their membership who are chronic drunkards, who seem to be powerless in the grip of the drink habit. This is an endless source of worry; for there is scarcely a bad man or woman who is not hospitably inclined toward the veterans, and will share anything that they have with them. The sin of drink is a stupendous fact.

In all of the homes there are many cases of rheumatism, which can be relieved under proper conditions. And so a large number of the managers of the North-western State homes are petitioning Congress to establish a sanitarium at Hot Springs, So. Dak., where this evil, with sundry others, can be successfully treated, and the restored men returned to their State homes renewed in comfort, if not in years.

The inmates of the State homes average about sixty years of age, and about thirty months of effective service at the front. Are

not such as these worthy of the care of any State? Out of 2,100,000 different individuals who composed the Northern army, only 5 per cent. have failed to do fairly well in the struggle of life. Of this 5 per cent., only $\frac{2}{5}$, or 2 per cent. of the whole army, are cared for in the Soldiers' Homes,— surely, a grand record for the remnant of the Grand Army after four years in service.

PENSIONS AND STATE SOLDIERS' HOMES.

BY CAPTAIN J. H. WOODNORTH, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

History teaches us that civilization has made its advances along the line of man's necessities, and that all progress has been in response to appeals to manhood. The barbarism of Africa is the result of the antipodes of conditions which in Europe and America have brought forth the enlightened glories of the closing hours of the nineteenth century. Men whose every want is provided for by a generous soil and a genial sun are relieved of that great struggle for existence which has developed the grand enterprises we see around us on every hand in this land of climatic extremities, and as a result live nearer the brute creation in just the proportion in which their energies are allowed to lie dormant. This is a law of nature that is inflexible. It enforces itself upon the civilization of America as well as upon the savagery of Africa. The example of the rich man's son, whose father forced his way to affluence by the sturdy qualities of his manhood, disgracing his sire with a life of profligacy, because necessity refused to turn his efforts into better channels, is too common a spectacle to excite comment. And yet we find the nation and the State placing an environment of indolence and irresponsibility about its war-worn veterans, and inviting them through a mistaken generosity to become less than men.

Far be it from me to detract one iota from the measure of gratitude to be bestowed upon the men who saved the nation. It was my fortune to stand with them upon the field of carnage, and to share with them the privations and hardships of the camp and the campaign. But, after all, when we get below the halo of patriotic

glory with which they have been enveloped by a generous people, we find they are but men of flesh and blood, yielding alike to the temptations to virtue or to vice, the same as other men. Nay, worse, the tender years of their approaching manhood in many, very many instances, were moulded, for the future men, amid the reckless dissipations of the camp and the campaign, where men had at times little less to do than attend to the routine of military duty and plan for dissipation and deviltry. Is it a wonder, then, that the saloon and the brothel cluster about the reservations dedicated by the government to providing a home for the veterans of her war? Or can it be denied that the evil is multiplied by the fact that the government, in addition to furnishing these men with food, shelter, and raiment, also provides them a generous allowance of cash in the shape of pensions, to be used for what purpose, if not to pander to the baser appetites of their nature?

Strip from this whole subject the sentiment with which it has been clothed, view it from a purely humanitarian standpoint, and what do you see? A few hundred or, it may be, a few thousand men, whose companionship each with the other revives memories of reckless war, with its dissipations and debaucheries, their every want provided for by a generous government, with no responsibilities resting upon them, and with money paid to them in hand to rehabilitate the memories of the past, and give them full force and effect in the present. Is it a wonder with such an environment that men forget the claims of wife and children, that they are weaned from the domestic hearth, and that their blunted sensibilities receive no shock from the tales of distress that come to them from those they would under other conditions love and cherish? With all its generosity the government can never recompense the soldier for the disability that robs him of the comforts of a home and a family circle of his own, in comparison to which a national or a State soldiers' home, even if furnished with the luxuries of the Orient, would be but an idle mockery.

Far be it from me to utter one word of condemnation of these men. Let judgment be suspended on even the worst of these men who fought the battles of their country. Upon us, so far as in us the power lies, devolves the task of relieving them of the hardships of life's few remaining years. Let us restore to them as far as possible the responsibilities of manhood which have been taken from

them by a mistaken policy of government. They should be made to realize that they owe something to themselves, that their pensions are designed to come to them as a blessing rather than a curse, and should be used for their betterment and the benefit of those dependent upon them.

The subject of pensions for members of State and national homes is one that has created more or less discussion during the past two years, particularly among the managers of such homes, crystallizing the sentiment that some reform should be inaugurated to correct the abuse of a nation's gratitude in this direction. The observations and experiences of nine years in connection with the management of the Wisconsin Veterans' Home have convinced me that the present system of pensions to the inmates of these homes should in some way be made to secure a more satisfactory and beneficial result, not only to the pensioner, but to those dependent upon him, if such there be, and to the home itself. I do not believe our government, in enacting the liberal pension laws now on its statute books, intended that its bounty should be used in debauchery or licentiousness. On the contrary, it was designed for use in the care and maintenance of the beneficiary and in preventing want and suffering as far as possible.

To many an old soldier, however, the pension does not come as a benefit. Particularly is this true when the quarterly payment is made to them in the large cities where temptations lurk at every corner, and the money is diverted from its legitimate course and squandered in revelry and vice, to the grief of family and friends. An example of this kind occurs to me at this time. I have in mind a soldier, and none better ever shouldered a gun and marched to his country's defence. Upon receipt of each quarter's pension he at once enters upon a season of dissipation and debauchery which continues without intermission until the last cent is gone. He is then turned into the street, is taken in charge by sympathetic friends, placed in the care of a doctor, sent to the home, and has his strength recruited for the next quarterly relapse into ways that are evil.

Only a few weeks since an old lady came into my office with the sad, sad story that she was the wife of a soldier who neglected to provide for her wants, although he was a pensioner, and was cared for at the National Soldiers' Home at Milwaukee. This poor woman was seventy-three years of age, the mother of nine children. Her

husband had been an inmate of the home for eight years, and drew a pension of $12 a month. During these long, weary years she had been obliged to maintain herself as best she could by washing and scrubbing and accepting charity at the hands of her neighbors. She traversed the streets, and gathered in her apron bits of wood and coal that perchance might fall from passing wagons, and by this hard means managed to keep blood from congealing in her aged and withered body during the cold winter months. Her pitiful appeals to her husband fell upon dull ears. His every want was supplied by the government, which fulfilled the measure of his joy with $12 a month to be expended in riotous living. This woman's appeal was that something might be done to force this man, fallen from his high estate, to contribute some part of the bounty received at the hands of the government to the support of her to whom, second only to his country, he owed the fullest measure of his loyalty.

Cases of a similar character might be multiplied without end. They form the dark side of the picture.

It is useless for me to recite wrongs incident to the misuse of pensions in individual cases. You all know of them, and could each relate a case or more if called upon. This man, but a type of the same kind, is being fed, clothed, and cared for at the State or national home at a cost, say, of $12 per month. In addition to this he received his pension of $12 per month, making him a beneficiary of the government to the amount of $24. And why? Only for the reason that, in the days when he might have provided for himself and family, through his indolent habits he failed to do so, and, as the years went by, found himself asking for admission to a soldiers' home. He is there to-day, forgetful of the ties that should be dear to him, living upon the bounty of the nation, with a pension in addition to add to his enjoyments and pleasures, not once thinking of that poor old woman in her misery and wretchedness. Not a day passes without inquiries reaching me, asking if there is no way a husband can be made to pay a part of his pension to help buy bread for the wife and children while he is being maintained and made comfortable at a soldiers' home.

Another class of members of soldiers' homes have no one dependent upon them or their pension. Why, then, should they not be required to help maintain the institution that is caring for them by contributing a portion of their pension money to its support? The

Wisconsin Veterans' Home requires its inmates to enter into an agreement, before they can be admitted, to pay over to the home a certain portion of their pension: single men, all in excess of $8; and married men, all in excess of $12 per month. With the amount remaining in their hands they must furnish their own clothing. We find this rule has worked very advantageously, not only to the pensioner, but to the home.

Without stating further why a reform is needed in the payment of pension to members of State or national homes, let me ask, What is the remedy? How can this reform be brought about? Is there a practical remedy?

My observation has caused me to conclude there are several ways by which these difficulties may be overcome and averted. To do so, I believe that legislation should be brought about requiring all inmates of soldiers' homes who are pensioners to contribute a certain portion of their pension to the support of the home, except in cases where they have dependent families. In the latter case provision should be made that a certain portion of the pension be paid to the dependent families. The officers of the home should, in every instance, know that this money is sent to the dependants.

Another remedy I would suggest would be that this class of persons admitted to either national or State homes be subject to guardianship,— that the commandant or some suitable person be made the guardian in each and every case, and, as such guardian, he should disburse the pension (in excess of amount to be contributed to the support of the home) to the pensioner, his family, or dependants, or, if there are no dependants, to the pensioner as his needs may require. Suitable provision should be made for the faithful performance of the guardianship by requiring a good and sufficient bond, etc. I am satisfied that, if legislation of this kind could be obtained and put into practical operation, much of the abuse of the pension now in existence would be averted, and the interests of the pensioner and those dependent upon him be better protected. I believe this to be the practical solution of this vexed problem.

I am conscious of the delicacy of this subject. The men over whom I would establish a guardianship are held in grateful memory by the people of this great nation. They formed the barricade of human life that met and beat back the tidal wave of rebellion, that a nation might live. Their shadows are lengthening. They have

long since passed the meridian, and are now marching under the weight of years with feeble steps into the twilight of life. The roster of the Union Army will soon be laid away in the archives of time for the want of a voice to respond to the roll-call. And what is the battle-worn veteran of the '60's but a soldier of fortune, whose victories have led to his defeat in life's great struggle, in which the contending hosts of his generation swept by the strategic point while he was campaigning in his country's behalf?

Is it not, then, meet and proper that those of us having the welfare of our more unfortunate comrades see to it that some suitable action is taken that will bring about this much needed reform?

In justice to the soldier, and his family who are dependent upon him, let us act at once. It is a duty that we owe, not only to them, but to ourselves.

THE WOMAN'S RELIEF CORPS.

BY MRS. L. A. BATES.

The Woman's Relief Corps is a charitable organization, and its work moves in patriotic lines. Its objects are as follows: —

To specially aid and assist the Grand Army of the Republic, and to perpetuate the memory of their heroic dead.

To assist such Union Veterans as need help and protection, and to extend needful aid to their widows and orphans; to find them homes and employment, and assure them of sympathy and friends; to cherish and emulate the deeds of the army nurses and of all loyal women who rendered loving service to their country in her hour of peril.

To inculcate lessons of patriotism and love of country among the children and in the communities in which they live; to maintain true allegiance to the United States of America; to discountenance whatever tends to weaken loyalty, and to encourage the spread of universal liberty and equal rights to all.

In round numbers the membership of the order is 140,000; and, although admitted as number seventeen into the Woman's National Council, in the character and importance of the work done and in

the amount of moneys expended, it proudly took the front rank, while in numerical strength it was surpassed only by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The practical workings of the order reach to such State soldiers' homes as need more funds for the furnishing of rooms and maintenance of the members than is provided by State appropriations, the assistance financially of posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, the observance of Memorial Day, the care and assistance of disabled volunteers, their families, widows, and orphans. Especial attention is also given to the army nurse, three thousand of whom are yet living. A beautiful home valued at $50,000 has been built for the indigent and decrepit of this truly loyal class, whose work was done while dread war was raging.

What has the Woman's Relief Corps done to entitle it to the position it occupies among the charitable organizations of our land? By permission of Comrade Redington, I quote liberally from the *Acme Haversack*.

The Woman's Relief Corps as a national organization dates its birth on the twenty-fifth day of July, 1883, at Denver, Col. Representatives from sixteen States were present; and Mrs. E. Florence Barker, of Massachusetts, was chosen the first president. At the close of her administration the secretary reported the membership as nearly 6,000; the cash receipts, $4,231.35; and expenditures, $4,126.04.

The second year's report showed a membership of 17,854; amount expended for relief during the year, $13,538.97; relief fund on hand, $40,225.78; general fund on hand, $14,613.20; turned over to posts of the G. A. R., $3,969.75; to army nurses, $969.59; total for charity, $18,478.31.

The third year: membership, 36,632; expended in relief, $23,481.83; to posts, $14,000; number of people assisted, 7,057; relief fund on hand, $24,266.98; general fund, $24,266.98; total for charity, $37,481.83.

Fourth year: membership, 49,590; expended in charity, $37,700.07; to posts of the G. A. R., $18,406.11; relief fund on hand, $36,990.72; general fund, $37,465.31; number of people assisted, 11,905.

Fifth year: membership, 63,214; expended in relief, $50,155.81; to posts, $24,568.51; total for charity, $74,724.32; general fund on

hand, $54,789.20; relief fund, $46,427.71. Memorial Day services were attended by 37,338 members and 98,605 children; expenses, $6,603.50.

Sixth year: membership, 73,055; expended in relief, $54,480.01; to posts of the G. A. R., $26,473.44; total for charity, $80,917.45; Memorial Day expenses, $7,732.70; 42,465 members present and 94,129 children; general fund on hand, $77,852.67; relief fund, $56,171.90; total, $134,024.57.

Seventh year: membership, 77,779; expended in relief, $62,226.12; turned over to posts, $26,065.54; extra relief work, $9,968.92; memorial services, $9,958.92; total charitable outlay, $102,530.48; relief fund on hand, $59,463.20; general fund, $85,407.34. Memorial Day services were participated in by 46,642 members and 134,027 children. 1,372 memorials were erected to the unknown dead.

Eighth year: membership, 90,396; relief expenditures, $69,498.59; turned over to posts, $30,075.91; Memorial Day purposes, $11,667.04; army nurses, $2,398.15; total cash for charity, $114,164.69.

Ninth year: membership, 103,614; expended in relief, $61,463.63; to posts, $34,138.34; Memorial Day, $13,140.72; army nurses, $5,774.68; pension committee, $353.27; relief other than money, $38,941.33; total charity work, $153,811.97; number of soldiers and families assisted, 23,017; relief fund on hand, $77,517.17; general fund, $122,535.81; total, $200,052.98. To this add $153,811.97 charity work of the year, and $353,864.95 is aggregated for good above the running expenses of the organization. 59,510 members attended the memorial exercises, with 166,053 children. 253,333 soldiers' graves were decorated, as well as 3,587 graves of army nurses and Sisters of the Relief Corps; 2,429 Corps contributed flowers, 720 Corps furnished refreshments for the veterans, and 1,991 memorials were erected to the "Unknown Dead."

Tenth year: membership, 105,768; cash expended in relief work, $58,666.37; turned over to posts, $34,406.39; Memorial Day, $14,331.36; army nurses and W. R. C. Home, $4,961.45; pension work, $605.66; relief other than money, $41,505.89; total charity work of the year, $154,477.12; number of families and soldiers assisted, 22,033; general fund on hand, $152,907.20; relief fund, $76,188.48; total, $229,095.68, making an aggregate of $383,572.80 as the year's ability for financial work. The Memorial Day cere-

monies were participated in by 59,705 members and 200,037 children. 363,809 graves were decorated.

Eleventh year: membership, 109,836; relief work, $64,151.59; turned over to posts, $30,181.71; army nurses and W. R. C. Home, $6,274.81; pension work, $259.68; Memorial Day, $13,827.37; special relief, $150; relief other than money, $55,739.10; total charity, $170,584.26; number assisted, 24,742; relief fund on hand, $75,407.01; general fund, $137,901.55; total financial strength of the year, $383,892.82. Memorial services were attended by 58,928 members and 228,700 children. 348,401 graves were decorated, and 2,004 memorials erected to the "Unknown Dead."

Twelfth year: membership, 140,305; relief work, $64,969.29; turned over to posts, $31,267.29; relief other than money, $69,788.97; W. R. C. Home and army nurses, $7,483.71; pension work, $250; Memorial Day, $13,802.48; Southern assistance, $668.26; National Relief Fund, $100; total charity work for the year, $164,962.24; number of persons assisted, 36,853; balance in Relief Fund, $69,340.35; general fund, $138,629.91; cash, $3,117.66; total, $211,087.92.

This brings the work of the Relief Corps down to the annual convention at Louisville, Ky., Sept. 12, 1895.

The charity work, as far as reported, has aggregated $1,201,890.19 during the twelve years of its national existence.

In the earlier years, reports, even of cash outlay, were not so thorough as of later dates; and relief other than cash was not made of record. So it can be safely said that the figures given above are below the actual amount of beneficent work of this grand organization.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the fact that, aside from the great amount of charitable work done and patriotic sentiment taught, the social feature of the Woman's Relief Corps bears no small part in its history. The mind and ingenuity of the ladies have often been severely taxed for the purpose of giving pleasure to the comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic. Literary entertainments have been provided, banquets prepared, and the best of everything the larder afforded has been set forth, and the veterans invited to the feast. Nothing has been considered too good for them; and, as time passes and their heads become more frosted, their faces wrinkled, eyes dimmed, step tottering, and their aches and pains

more severe, the duties of these loyal women are increased. And, while there is an old veteran left who served our country in its hour of peril, these patriotic women will be found scattering flowers and sunshine in the pathway, that their enjoyments may be greater, the march less tiresome, as they near the eternal camping-ground just across the river where angels are waiting to call the roll.

REPORT OF CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS' HOMES.

BY MAJ. R. H. DUDLEY AND MAJ. N. V. RANDOLPH, COMMITTEE.

Seventeen years after the close of the Civil War in America, the question of providing for disabled and indigent Confederate soldiers was taken up by the Confederate organizations in the various States. In the beginning many of them were supported entirely by private contributions; but this uncertain income was soon abandoned, and the various State legislatures were petitioned to make annual appropriations for the support of these old men. With one or two exceptions, their response met with hearty approval, and while the aid extended has never been sufficient to meet all the wants, it has still been large enough to support a large number of disabled Confederate soldiers.

Homes have been established in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, and Missouri, and there are many thousands of old Confederate soldiers who have found a resting-place outside of the county almshouse.

The Home established by R. E. Lee Camp, No. 1, C. V., at Richmond, Va., and which was intended for the support of Virginia soldiers alone, has admitted in the twelve years of its existence more than a thousand men, at a total cost of equipment and maintenance of $323,369.49. This, I believe, is the largest Home in the South. Owing to our border situation we have had many demands from men from other States than Virginia, both for permanent and temporary admission, and we have taken in from the various Southern States ninety-nine men, of whom twenty-two were permanent and now in

the institution. The cost of maintenance, which includes everything, has been an average of $125.50 per year per man.

The State of Virginia makes an annual appropriation of $30,000, besides a pension roll, amounting to $115,000 per year. Most of the other Southern States grant pensions of various amounts, Georgia making the largest appropriation, which I am informed amounts to about $600,000 or approximately, $400,000 for men, and $200,000 for widows.

The Confederate soldiers organized in Tennessee, in 1887, for the purpose of assisting their maimed and indigent comrades. Through their work and influence the legislature of Tennessee, at its January session, 1889, gave the Hermitage farm, the old home of General Andrew Jackson, consisting of 475 acres, for a Confederate Home. Independent of this the State gave $47,500 with which to build the Home and fence the property. This amount, supplemented by about $10,000 raised by private subscriptions, has been expended in building a large, comfortable Home consisting of forty-two rooms, connected by passages intersecting in the centre of the house. The State now makes an annual appropriation of $8,500 for the support of the Home; and this, with the productions of the farm, enables the trustees to clothe and feed 125 inmates. The cost per inmate is about $80 a year, and with this the inmates are dressed in good gray jeans and are fed bountifully. The farm is well stocked with milch cows, hogs, chickens, turkeys, etc., and the inmates have an abundance of milk, butter, etc. The Home is governed by a board of nine trustees, with an Executive Committee composed of three of the trustees, who have the exclusive control and management of the Home. The Executive Committee is as follows: Major R. H. Dudley, President; Captain M. S. Cockrill and Dr. W. J. McMurray, with Mr. John P. Hickman, as secretary. Tennessee makes an annual appropriation of $60,000 per annum to her disabled ex-Confederates that have families, those without families being sent to the Home.

In my judgment it is the duty of each State to provide for its destitute Confederate soldiers, who in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred responded to the call of their native State in 1861, and earned for the South immortal fame. The man who by his undaunted courage and fidelity to duty under many trials and vicissitudes challenged the respect of his foe and won for him the admiration of the

world, and who now in his old age is unable to earn a livelihood, should in all justice be provided for by his native State. The amount properly and judiciously expended would be but a small tax upon the prosperous property owner of each State, and it should be the duty as well as a pleasure for the present generation to honor the bravery of these men and provide for them in their old age.

I might go farther and state that I am opposed to a pension system by the general government on account of the outrageous abuses that have crept into the system, which would be impossible if it were managed by State institutions. For instance, according to the present reports from Washington, dealing in round figures only, a million and a half persons are now on the pension rolls of the government, and one million applications are now in the Department awaiting action, which makes two and a half million people, while the records of the general government show that but two million seven hundred eighty thousand men were enlisted in the Army and Navy during the entire four years of the war. It is reasonable to suppose from the large number of national cemeteries scattered over the land that a large number of men must have been killed during the war, and, with the average mortality of thirty years, that the amount could not be two and a half millions of men living, or widows of soldiers entitled to pension under an honest administration. It is, therefore, a self-evident fact that a large and glaring fraud must exist in the present system, whereas, if regulated by States, and the amount contributed by each State, the expenses would be far less than they are to-day.

I may be going out of my way in this Report to make the above statement, but in my humble judgment it is one that menaces the future of this country.

It is a remarkable fact that the Southern soldier returning to his desolate home at the end of the war, the financial institutions of his country obliterated and his home laid waste, and apparently nothing but the land left, with the same determination that carried him through four years of war has made his country prosperous; and I have yet to hear of a Confederate soldier dying in the county almshouse unless there by his own misdeeds since the war. Without any pension, he has achieved for himself prosperity, and has taught his children the self-reliance and trust in his own exertion which stood him in good stead on the battle-field and in the march.

Contrast with this picture the Northern soldier returning to a land

of plenty, and grateful people ready to open their arms for victories that he achieved, and to bestow upon him everything that wealth could buy,— now, thirty years after the war, asking Congress for increase of pension, saying that unless granted he must go to the almshouse or die in want. Surely there must be something wrong about this system. My own opinion is that the general government was not intended for the support of the individual where he is physically unable to support himself, but that each State should provide for its own inhabitants.

This is a question which brings up an old and disputed point, of whether charity is best bestowed by an out and out support, or simply by giving occupation of some light kind, that each man may earn a sufficiency according to his physical ability. This is a question, it strikes me, which such a Conference as this might well take into consideration.

A LETTER FROM THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 27, 1896.

HON. C. E. FAULKNER, Chairman of the Committee on Homes for Soldiers and Sailors, Atchison, Kan.

Sir,— I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst. inviting suggestions in the matter of a system of commutation of the cost of maintenance in a Home. Such a system, styled "outdoor relief," has been in operation for some time at the Soldiers' Home (Regulars) near this city; and I would suggest that you address General D. S. Stanley, Governor of that Home, for such information and views as he may have on its practical working. The Board of Managers under which his Home is conducted is different from that of the Volunteer Homes, or State Homes, but illustrations and views from all might well be made beneficial.

As a measure of relief to our veteran volunteers who are unable to gain admission to the overcrowded National Homes established for their relief, it has been suggested to Congress to make it possible, by an adequate appropriation, for the Board of Managers to act

effectively under the authority granted them by law to give "outdoor relief in such manner and to such extent as they may deem proper; but such relief shall not exceed the average cost of maintaining an inmate of the Home."

This proposition was seriously considered; but it may require some regulation which should perhaps interest the Board of Managers and be formulated by it before final action by Congress.

The last report of the National Home shows the average present and absent during the year ending June 30, 1895, was 20,210, and the average present was 16,480; or over 18 per cent. of the members receive no aid from the Home during such absence. While inspecting in 1894, it was learned that outdoor relief was given to a limited extent at some of the Homes. But the practice was discouraged, and was being gradually withdrawn. At the Marion Branch, for example, there were 21 members who lived outside the Home and drew their rations from it. The cost of these rations varied; but at the date of inspection it was $1.11 per week, an average of about $57.72 per annum, and with the addition of clothing, over $54 less per annum than the cost of maintenance at that Home.

The report of Regulars' Home shows a little over 31 per cent. of membership on outdoor relief, at the average cost of $82.53 each, an annual saving of over one hundred dollars on the cost of maintenance at that Home.

I enclose herewith a copy of this year's report of the Inspection of the National Home, and of the Inspector-General's annual report to the Secretary of War, from which may be gathered the views of this Department on this subject.

To obtain Federal recognition of the work of your organization by representation at your Conferences would, I think, be of advantage; and surely the large sums of public money appropriated for these purposes should command the best and wisest management.

Very respectfully,

J. C. BRECKINRIDGE,
Inspector-General.

XI.

Immigration and Migration.

INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF PAUPERS.

BY H. H. HART,

SECRETARY OF THE MINNESOTA STATE BOARD OF CORRECTIONS AND CHARITIES.

At the New Haven meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, I presented a paper on "Interstate Migration." In that paper I said: "What is needed is a Federal law to regulate the migration from State to State of paupers and dependants. Penalties should be imposed for sending paupers from one State to another, except where they had a residence or had friends who are responsible for their care. The law should declare what constitutes a legal residence within a State, and federal officers should be designated to decide the questions arising under it."

Further reflection upon this question has confirmed the opinion expressed at that time, that the only comprehensive remedy for the evils which are connected with the unrestricted migration of paupers, tramps, and criminals from State to State lies in the regulation of the matter by the general government. But, pending the adoption of such legislation, it is believed that a partial remedy may be secured by concurrent action of the several States, and at the same time the determination of the question of the residence within States, and the transfer of dependent persons from one part of a State to another can be more satisfactorily regulated.

To this end, a draft of a proposed law has been prepared, with a view to securing the criticisms and suggestions of those who are familiar with the situation in the several States, and with a view, if possible, to the securing of concert of action, at least by those States having State boards of charities.

The two States which have suffered most severely from the bur-

dens of non-resident dependency are New York and Massachusetts. In each of these States the responsibility of dealing with this class is laid upon the State Board of Charities. The settlement laws of Massachusetts are very complicated, and a large portion of the business of the Massachusetts State Board of Lunacy and Charity consists in deciding questions as to the residence of paupers, and in returning them to their proper residence either within or without the State.

In the State of New York a large number of immigrant paupers has been found, and they have been returned to their native countries under the operation of the immigrant law. The question of the residence of domestic paupers has not been so pressing in New York, owing to the simpler residence laws of that State.

In both the State of Massachusetts and the State of New York, the law recognizes what is known as "State paupers"; *i.e.*, paupers who have never established a legal residence anywhere within the State and for whom no residence can be established outside of the State. In Massachusetts the State maintains a State almshouse at Tewksbury for the reception of State paupers. Those State paupers who are in need of temporary or "outdoor relief" are assisted by the authorities of the cities or towns, which are reimbursed from the State treasury. In the State of New York the State maintains no almshouse, but State paupers are cared for in county almshouses, and the counties are reimbursed from the State Treasury for relief given to State paupers. So far as I am informed, no other State in the Union recognizes the existence of "State paupers," except in the case of the insane poor; and there is apparently a disinclination to establish a separate class of paupers. But in many of the States the same difficulty that has arisen in Massachusetts and New York is beginning to make itself felt; namely, the existence of a class of dependent poor, who have no legal claim upon any particular locality. This is especially true in those States which are rapidly peopled by immigration, and in which there is a large number of people who have not had time to establish a legal residence. In most of the Western States a large amount of relief is given to non-resident paupers. This relief is generally extended either by the county authorities or by the private charitable organizations. In those counties where the town system of poor relief prevails, there is usually more objection to the relief of non-resident paupers than in

those localities where the county system prevails, for the reason that the township system comes much nearer to the tax-payers. In the State of Ohio, therefore, where the county system has just been abolished, it is probable that the question of State paupers will arise.

In order to secure proper care for transient paupers and for victims of accident or temporary illness, it seems indispensable to have a system whereby such persons shall be chargeable upon somebody. This end is accomplished in the proposed law, by making paupers whose residence cannot be determined, a charge upon that community in which they have lived longest during the preceding year.

The principal features of the proposed law are as follows: —

1. That continuous residence for one year in any community shall establish a legal residence, provided that time spent in a public institution, and time during which the pauper has received public aid, shall not be counted toward establishing a residence.

2. That non-residents shall not be admitted to State institutions except by special action of the State Board of Charities.

3. That alleged non-residents shall be investigated by the State Board of Charities, and, if found to be residents of another State or country, may be removed thereto at State expense; and, if found to be residents within the State, they shall be located at their proper residence at the expense of the community to which they belong.

4. Disputes of towns or cities in the same county with reference to the residence of paupers to be settled by the board of county commissioners; the decision of said board, or the decision of the State Board in State cases, to be subject to repeal in district courts.

5. Agents of railroad companies or other common carriers are forbidden under penalty to bring paupers into the State or to transfer paupers from place to place within the State either at reduced rates of fare or by free transportation unless the transfer ticket is accompanied by a certificate signed by some public officer or by a responsible agent of some charitable organization, saying that the person is being sent to his legal residence, or that he is being sent to friends or other responsible parties, or that he is able to earn a living and is being sent to some place where he has a definite prospect of employment.

6. The law empowers the State Board of Charities to enter into an agreement with the authorities of other States which shall adopt concurrent legislation for the arbitration of disputed questions be-

tween such States respecting the residence of insane persons, paupers, and other dependants, and for the return of such persons to their proper residence.

It is to be hoped that the essential features of this act may find a place upon the statute books of all States having State boards of charities, and that the constant stream of migratory paupers may be checked.

It will be a favor to the writer of the paper if any one who is interested in the subject will write him, making suggestions and criticisms relative to the proposed legislation.

UNITED STATES LEGISLATION RESPECTING IMMIGRATION.

BY RICHARD GUENTHER,

MEMBER OF THE WISCONSIN STATE BOARD OF CONTROL.

Not wishing to exceed my time limit, I must of necessity omit much which I would like to state and discuss in connection with this subject. A careful study of the existing laws will convince unprejudiced minds that no additional legislation is required to check immigration. All undesirable elements are excluded from landing under existing laws. The Secretary of the Treasury, however, should be supplied with sufficient funds to carry out existing law and be thereby enabled to exercise due vigilance along our borders, north and south. As much attention should be paid there to the immigration laws as is done with reference to the customs and quarantine.

The educational test advocated by many I deem entirely uncalled for. All idiots, insane persons, paupers, or persons likely to become a public charge, or who suffer from loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, or who have been convicted of a felony or infamous crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude, polygamists, assisted immigrants and contract laborers are now excluded; also all Chinese, with few exceptions.

Why should we refuse persons, who belong to none of these enumerated classes, simply because they cannot read and write?

Even under the present depression of business in the United States there are many instances where farmers, North and South, would be glad to find an immigrant as a farm laborer, who can pass muster under the existing law, though he may not be able to read and write.

The same can be said of domestics. Many a housewife is obliged to do her own work because she cannot procure the services of a good, strong, and healthy girl. Gladly would she hire a German, Norwegian, Bohemian, Irish, or some other girl who may not know how to write her own name.

To an Armenian or Cuban refugee who flees to our shores we should then have to say: "You are a healthy man of good character and would probably never become a burden to us. We extend to you our sympathy, and will pass resolutions expressing them, but we cannot permit you to enter our country because you have not had the chance to learn to read and write." Perhaps such a course would influence the Turkish and Spanish governments to establish public schools in their respective countries.

Should it be deemed advisable by the people of the United States to prescribe an educational test with reference to the naturalization of an alien, then this question should be discussed in connection with naturalization but not with reference to the immigration laws.

While I am of the opinion that no further laws are needed to check immigration, I am, however, decidedly in favor of amending existing laws respecting the return of immigrants to the countries to which they belong.

Section 11 of the law of March 3, 1891, is as follows: —

That any alien who shall come into the United States in violation of law may be returned, as by law provided, at any time within one year thereafter, at the expense of the person or persons, vessel, transportation company, or corporation bringing such an alien into the United States, and if that cannot be done, then at the expense of the United States; and any alien who becomes a public charge within one year after his arrival in the United States from causes existing prior to his landing therein shall be deemed to have come in violation of law and shall be returned as aforesaid.

I would have it read somewhat like this: —

That any alien who shall come into the United States in violation of law may be returned, as by law provided, at any time after being

so found, to the country to which he or she belongs, at the expense of the person or persons, vessel, transportation company, or corporation having brought such an alien into the United States, and if that cannot be done, then at the expense of the United States; and any alien having become a public charge in any of the States or Territories of the United States or in the District of Columbia, shall be returned to the country to which he or she belongs at the expense of the United States, and the same shall be done with any alien who has been convicted by any court in the United States of a felony or other infamous crime or misdemeanor, involving moral turpitude, after having served the sentence imposed by such court.

Even with all of the funds at his disposal, needed to carry out the provisions of the immigration law, and by using the utmost vigilance, the Secretary of the Treasury will not always be able to prevent aliens from entering our territory who are not entitled to do so. Such persons I would deport at any time they are found, after the proper authorities have examined into the case and have arrived at the conclusion that they did come in violation of law and are not self-supporting; and I would not have any limitation,— at least not a one year's limitation only,— but five or ten years, perhaps, if deemed advisable. Every poorhouse, hospital, or asylum for the insane, every charitable or reformatory institution in my own State,— and, I have no doubt, in every State and Territory in the Union,— has inmates who are not citizens of the United States, but aliens belonging to some other country or nation.

The people of the United States have to pay many millions of dollars annually for the support of idiots, paupers, insane and defective persons, and criminals, who are aliens. What obligation have we to support foreigners who forced themselves upon us, either yesterday or years ago? I hold that we have none. The countries, whose citizens or subjects such persons are, should take care of them; and the United States has clearly the right to send them back to their own country whenever it sees fit to do so.

We are only bound to support our own people, those who were born here or who have been naturalized according to the laws of the United States. Many paupers and dependent persons have succeeded, and do succeed to-day, in making their entry into the United States by way of Canada, British Columbia, or Mexico. They may not be detected within a year, or for several years. Have we any legal or moral obligation to support them for the remainder of their

lives because they succeeded in getting into our country at some time in violation of our laws and contrary to public policy?

Unless we avail ourselves of our right to deport these aliens I have mentioned, whenever it is deemed best, all existing laws, and all we may establish hereafter, will to some extent be a dead letter.

No further restriction of immigration seems desirable, but additional legislation to enable us to rid ourselves of aliens who are a burden to our people or a menace to our peace and welfare.

I took occasion, a short time ago, to question a number of convicts in the Wisconsin State Prison. I found a large proportion of aliens, especially a large proportion of Canadians, who had not been naturalized in the United States, although some claimed to have declared their intention of becoming citizens. Several of them admitted that they had served several terms in prison: one of them served his fourth term, the last one for highway robbery.

Now, knowing that these criminals, thieves, burglars, highway robbers, etc., are aliens, that they are dangerous characters, and in all probability will again commit crimes, they are turned loose upon our people after the expiration of their sentence, a menace to our peace and good order.

Such a procedure is criminal in itself. I would turn over all alien convicts, after their sentence has been served, to the proper United States authorities, whose duty it should be to deport them to the country to which they belong; and, furthermore, I would take the precautions for their detection should they attempt to re-enter our territory or be at any time hereafter found within its borders.

I would mark them in some way so that they could be recognized as convicted criminals. Tattooing on the arm or some other part of the body, not ordinarily exposed, would, I think, answer the purpose. This could be done without inflicting pain; at any rate it would not be more painful than vaccination. Should any such marked convict venture to return to the United States, I would make it a criminal offence, punishable by imprisonment at the hardest kind of labor.

In the foregoing I have briefly stated my views relative to immigration simply as suggestions and to call attention to existing evils so that others may be induced to give their ideas, and that some national legislation may eventually be enacted which would most effectually rid the people of the United States of the presence of

aliens who are a burden and expense to our people and a danger to public order and security. I should like to see this done without causing useless annoyance to immigrants who come to our shores in good faith, able and willing to support themselves and their families by honest labor, even if circumstances over which they have had no control prevented them from acquiring a school education.

With reference to our right to deport the classes I have mentioned, I would call attention to a few authorities. Mr. David Dudley Field says in his "Outlines of an International Code," "Foreign convicts or accused persons, paupers, and persons suffering from mental alienation, or from other maladies which give them the right to public relief, who enter a nation may be sent back by it to the nation of which they are members at any time while the legal liability or the State dependence continues and before they have acquired the national character of the nation into which they have entered."

Professor John Norton Pomeroy, after referring to numerous authorities, says: "From the foregoing authorities it is certain that the United States has the absolute right, first, to refuse admittance to foreign immigrants of the classes described; second, to expel those who have effected an entry within the national territory; and third, to cause them to be returned to their own country at the expense of the latter."

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania states: "No man has a right to say, 'I will force myself into your territory, and you shall protect me.'"

In Twiss's "Law of Nations" we find: "States have, without doubt, a right to refuse an asylum to the subject of foreign States."

Heffter says: "Each State is the master in fixing the conditions under which it will prevent strangers the entry and sojourn within its territory. It is able in the interest of public security to return them home, individually or in mass, at least when the provisions of treaties concluded with other powers do not interfere. In like manner, a State cannot refuse to receive back its own subjects, expelled from a foreign territory."

Bluntschli ("Le Droit International Codifié") states: Sec. 368. "Each State is obliged to receive back those of its own subjects who have been expelled by foreign authorities, or who are returned to their own country."

The following notes are appended thereto: —

"Expulsion or return is resorted to for two principal motives:

"*First*, when an individual is not in a condition to support himself, and needs to be maintained at the public expense.

"*Second*, when he menaces the security and public order of the foreign State."

In Mexico under article 33 of the Constitution, the President of the republic is given authority to expel "pernicious foreigners" from the republic.

For fear of encroaching upon the time of others, I shall not quote more authorities. I think that the right to expel cannot be questioned. No State or Territory of the United States should be compelled to take care of alien dependants or allow alien convicts to be turned loose upon our people. As a State or Territory cannot deal with a foreign government, all dependent aliens who are now considered a charge of the State where they happen to be, and also all alien convicts at the expiration of their sentence, should be considered charges of the United States, and the United States should take steps to deport them, under proper rules and regulations, to the countries to which they belong, and thus relieve the people of the United States of the burden of their support for the remainder of their lives or of the danger of allowing alien criminals to remain in our midst.

IMMIGRATION AND CRIME.*

BY H. H. HART.

The articles on "Delinquents" by Mr. F. W. Hewes, in the *Outlook* of March 7, 1896, was in strict accordance with the apparent facts, as shown by the census of 1890, and was doubtless intended to be correct in its conclusions; yet so far as it bears upon the subject of immigration and crime it is misleading at every point save one.

Mr. Hewes says: (*a*) "Of each 10,000 white persons born in this country, a little less than 9 (8.82) were imprisoned as criminals;

*Read before the National Prison Association, Milwaukee, Wis., October, 1896, and included in this Report at the request of the editor and others.

while of each 10,000 white persons born in foreign countries nearly twice as many (17.44) were convicts." He says: (*b*) "Few criminals, 6 (6.12) to each 10,000, would be found among our white population if they were all born of parents both of whom were born here. . . . Were all our native-born population of mixed parentage (*i.e.* one parent native and one parent foreign) it would still furnish but a moderate ratio of criminals, 8 (8.42) to each 10,000." He says, (*c*) (after comparing the foreign-born criminals, and those whose parents were foreign-born, with the general population): "It appears, therefore, that foreign immigration of the character of that before 1890 gave a ratio of criminals in our white population of over 10 (10.42) in each 10.000 persons, as against 6 (6.12) in each 10,000 if there had been no immigration."

In the present article it will be shown: (*a*) that as a matter of fact the foreign-born population furnishes only two-thirds as many criminals in proportion as the native-born; (*b*) that while it is true that the native-born children of foreign-born parents as a whole furnish more criminals proportionately than those whose parents are native-born, yet in more than half of the States the showing is in favor of the children of the foreign-born. (*c*) That the combined ratio of prisoners of foreign birth and those born of foreign-born parents to the same classes in the community at large is only 84 per cent. of the ratio of native-born prisoners to the same class in the community at large.

It is true that these propositions are contrary to the popular impressions, and contrary to the apparent showing of the census on a superficial view; but they can be established to the satisfaction of any candid student.

Mr. Hewes has followed the lead of most writers on this subject, and has committed the error of comparing the criminal population, foreign and native, with the whole of the general population, foreign and native. The young children of the community furnish practically no prisoners, and nearly all of these children are native-born, whether the parents are native-born or not. The consequence is that Mr. Hewes has not only given the native population credit for its own children, who are not criminals, but has taken the native-born children of foreign parents, adding them to the native-born population and counting them against their own parents. The result can easily be illustrated: suppose that we were to take 100

native-born adults, and 100 foreign-born adults and should find that out of each hundred, 10 were in prison. This would give us a ratio of 10 per cent. in each case. Suppose now that we find that the 100 foreign-born adults have 200 minor children, and the 100 native-born adults have 200 minor children, but that 150 of the children of the foreign-born parents were born in this country. We now have a population of 600 people of whom 20 are in prison, giving a ratio of $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Of these 600, 150 are foreign-born, of whom 10 are criminals, showing a ratio of 6.7 per cent.; and 450 are native-born, of whom 10 are criminals, giving a ratio of 2.2 per cent. By this method the foreign-born people would appear to have three times the ratio of the native-born people, when as a matter of fact they ought to have just the same.

Of the prisoners of the United States 98.5 per cent. are above the age of 16 years; 95 per cent. are above the age of 18 years; and 84 per cent. are above the age of 21 years. The native-born population of the United States in 1890 numbered 53,390,600; the native-born prisoners, 65,977; ratio, 1,235 in a million. The foreign-born population numbered 9,231,381; the foreign-born prisoners, 16,352; ratio, 1,744 in a million; an apparent excess of foreigners over natives of 41 per cent. But the number of native-born males of voting age was 12,591,852; native-born male prisoners, 61,637; ratio, 4,895 in a million. The number of foreign-born males of voting age was 4,348,459; foreign-born male prisoners, 14,287; ratio, 3,285; showing an actual excess of natives over foreigners of 50 per cent.

The comparison of the criminal population with the general population works injustice not only to the foreign population, but also to the general population, especially in those States where there is an excess of adult males. For example: by comparison of prisoners with the general population, Idaho is the eighth State in her ratio of criminals, Oregon eleventh, and Washington fifteenth; but, by comparison of male prisoners with males of voting age, Idaho stands twelfth, Oregon sixteenth, and Washington twenty-first. On the other hand, by comparison of prisoners with the general population, Kansas stands thirteenth, Utah fourteenth, and Pennsylvania seventeenth; but, by comparison of male prisoners with males of voting age, Kansas stands ninth, Utah tenth, and Pennsylvania fifteenth.

In the present article the female population is left out of the account, for the reason that the census does not give the necessary information with reference to the nationality of women. But, as only 9 per cent. of all the prisoners are women, the result will not be seriously affected.

After showing the facts with reference to the whole United States, the details with reference to the Northern States only are given, the Southern States being excluded for two reasons: first, because they contain only 7.5 per cent. of the foreign-born prisoners in the United States, and of these more than half are found in the State of Texas alone; second, because, as Mr. Hewes has pointed out, the disproportionate number of colored prisoners would affect the results disproportionately. Had the Southern States been included, the showing would have been less favorable for the native-born population, as is indicated by the ratios shown for the entire United States.

It is proposed, therefore, to compare the total number of male prisoners in the Northern States with the total number of males of voting age in those States. To be perfectly exact, the comparison should have been between the male inhabitants of voting age and the male prisoners of voting age. But this was impossible for the reason that the census does not show the facts as to the nationality of the prisoners of voting age. A careful examination proved, however, that the results would be relatively the same in considering the whole number of prisoners or the prisoners of voting age, for the reason that the distribution of prisoners as to nationality is almost exactly the same for the total number as for those of voting age.

The table on page 311 exhibits the ratios above mentioned for the United States, the Northern States, the Northern divisions, and each of the Northern States.

It will be seen from the table that the men of foreign birth furnish fewer prisoners proportionately than those of native birth in each division of the Northern States, as follows (see columns 2 and 3 of the table): —

NUMBER OF PRISONERS IN EACH MILLION MALES OF VOTING AGE.

	Foreign-born.	Native-born.
Northern States	3,240	4,445
North Central Division	1,915	3,550
North Atlantic Division	4,360	5,205
Western Division	4,615	6,410

NUMBER OF MALE PRISONERS TO EACH MILLION MALES OF VOTING AGE IN THE NORTHERN UNITED STATES.

	All Classes.	Foreign-born.	Native Alone.		
			Total Native-born.	Parents Foreign-born.	Parents Native-born.
THE UNITED STATES	4480	3285	4895	5475	4775
NORTHERN STATES	4045	3240	4445	5665	4075
NORTH ATLANTIC DIVISION	4920	4360	5205	8510	4135
Maine	2380	4525	2000	6200	1615
New Hampshire	2515	3345	2285	8475	1730
Vermont	1880	2130	1815	2550	1680
Massachusetts	6735	5865	7285	16200	4390
Rhode Island	4790	3475	5685	10400	4060
Connecticut	4195	3700	4460	9035	3170
New York	5615	4310	6440	8165	5580
New Jersey	5285	4600	5655	8135	4860
Pennsylvania	4035	3765	4135	5940	3675
NORTH CENTRAL DIVISION	3045	1915	3550	3005	3715
Ohio	2640	1550	2940	2825	2975
Indiana	3155	1935	3325	2620	3440
Illinois	3470	2330	4120	4340	4045
Michigan	3300	2270	4000	3790	4060
Wisconsin	2325	1735	2990	2090	3970
Minnesota	2660	1735	3990	3200	4575
Iowa	1795	995	2300	1570	2530
Missouri	3810	2180	4145	3495	4265
North Dakota	1680	935	3060	3280	2940
South Dakota	1800	1000	2435	2175	2550
Nebraska	2135	1125	2590	1010	2960
Kansas	4940	4255	5095	3165	5400
WESTERN DIVISION	5660	4615	6410	7645	6050
Montana	6440	4300	8335	12050	7400
Wyoming	2740	980	3635	1610	4300
Colorado	5330	4240	5820	8570	5200
New Mexico	4250	6065	3928	4260	3895
Arizona	10420	12700	8780	6205	9480
Utah	4810	3920	5535	3655	6865
Nevada	7160	5105	9330	7665	9945
Idaho	4760	4960	4650	3825	4925
Washington	3050	2415	3460	4765	3135
Oregon	3920	3340	4210	6000	3920
California	7075	5295	8880	9700	8580

By reference to the table, it will be seen that the showing is in favor of the foreign-born in every Northern State and Territory except Maine, New Hampshire, Arizona, and New Mexico. While the showing is more favorable to the native-born in the Northern States than for the whole country, the ratio of the native-born criminals is still 37 per cent. larger than that of the foreign-born.

If we compare the foreign-born with the pure native-born, *i.e.*, the native-born of native parents, the showing is more favorable to the native stock (see columns 2 and 5 of the table).

NUMBER OF PRISONERS TO EACH MILLION MALES OF VOTING AGE.

	Foreign-born.	Native-born of Native Parents.
Northern States	3,240	4,075
North Atlantic Division	4,360	4,135
North Central Division	1,915	3,715
Western Division	4,615	6,050

In the North Atlantic Division alone, the ratio of foreign-born prisoners exceeds that of the pure native-born. This excess is found in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania; but in Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey, the showing is in favor of the foreign-born. In the Central and Western Divisions the record is in favor of the foreign-born in every case, except Arizona and New Mexico.

If we compare native-born with native-born, the result is as follows: —

NUMBER OF PRISONERS TO EACH MILLION MALES OF VOTING AGE.

	Total Native-born.	Native-born, Parents Foreign.	Native-born, One or Both Parents Native.
Northern States	4,445	5,665	4,075
North Atlantic Division	5,205	8,510	4,135
North Central Division	3,550	3,005	3,715
Western Division	6,410	7,645	6,050

Here there is a marked diversity between the different sections of the country. The children of native-born parents show about the same ratio of criminals in the North Atlantic and the North Central States; but the children of foreign parents show nearly three times as high a ratio in the North Atlantic States as in the North Central States. In every one of the North Atlantic States, the showing is against the children of foreign-born parents; but in every one of the North Central States, except Illinois and North Dakota, the showing

is in favor of the children of foreign-born parents. Of the Western States, 5 show against the native-born, and 6 against the foreign-born. These facts are very remarkable, and call for a discriminating study of the elements of the foreign population, which will be attempted in a later article.

I have prepared a diagram illustrating the difference between the method of comparison followed by Mr. Hewes, and that followed in the present article. An examination of that diagram reveals the fact that the ratio of foreign prisoners, which was 67 per cent. greater than the average by Mr. Hewes's method, is 20 per cent. less than the average by the method followed in this article: that the ratio of native-born prisoners which is 15 per cent. less than the average by the first method, is 10 per cent. more than the average by the second method; while that of native-born children, having both parents foreign-born is 50 per cent. more than the average by the first method, and 40 per cent. more than the average by the second method.

NOTE.— For the benefit of any student who may wish to verify the figures here given, the method of computing them is stated, as follows: —

By reference to the Census Compendium, volume 1, page 764, the number of males of voting age for the North Atlantic Division is seen to be 5,055,239; column 2 shows the total number of native-born to be 3,375,389; column 3 shows the total number of foreign-born to be 1,679,850. By reference to column 7, the number of natives having parents foreign, is seen to be 823,422; deducting this number from the total native-born in column 2, we have 2,551,967 natives born of native parents.

By reference to the census volume No. 2, on crime, pauperism, and benevolence, page 4, column 1, the total number of male prisoners in the North Atlantic Division is seen to be 24,883; the number of whites, foreign-born, shown by column 9, is 7,307. Adding the Chinese and Japanese in columns 13 and 14 (15), the total number of foreign-born prisoners is 7,322; deducting from the aggregate in column 1, we have 17,561 native-born. By reference to column 7, the number of natives having both parents foreign is seen to be 7,006, leaving 10,555 native born of native parents.

Dividing the total number of male prisoners (24,883) by the total number of male inhabitants of voting age (5,055,239), we obtain .4920 as the ratio to a million, as shown in column 1 of the table.

The ratios for each class and for each State are obtained in the same way. The number of males of voting age, and the number of prisoners for the "Northern States" is obtained by adding the "North Atlantic," "North Central," and "Western" Divisions.

XII.

Child-saving.

THE RESCUE AND RELIEF OF CHILDREN.

Outline for an Ideal System.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CHILD-SAVING.

Before undertaking to say precisely what should be done in any place for the accomplishment of any work of importance touching the welfare of a community, one must know what has already been done, what farther is required, how far the work of the past may be utilized as foundation for that of the future, what resources are at command, and to what extent the persons composing that community can be interested and brought into co-operation. Thus, in the consideration of ideal systems for the management of works of philanthropy, we are, at the very outset, brought face to face with the fact that the work of the past, effective and really noble as it has been, has not been ideal work when viewed from the standpoint of to-day. Neither dare we lose sight of the truth that the accomplishments of to-day, criticised, found wanting, and abandoned, as they soon must be, were once the rosy ideals of a future, that the ideal dwells ever beneath the radiance of refracted sunshine, and, when we stretch forth eager hands to possess it, it has receded beyond the valley or climbed the mountain height.

The field of our ideal system must be all-embracing. There must be no minimum age below which it will fail to operate; and the maximum must be as elastic as the lines between childish innocence, guilty knowledge, and criminal responsibility. It must have in it large elements of public authority, and upon occasion must interfere with and set aside the natural right of parent to child. This will only come about through recognition of the fact that there are degrees of moral degeneracy beyond which it is both cruel and ex-

travagant to leave children under parental control. Poverty alone will not always justify the permanent disintegration of that primary social unit, the family.

In an ideal system, churches or religious orders and associations of citizens will organize undertakings for the relief and care of children. These they will administer through their own officers, for their own purposes, and at their own expense. The State will lend them the protection of laws of incorporation, and otherwise encourage and approve their work, demanding only that the children who are so soon to be its citizens shall be supplied with the things necessary to their moral and physical welfare, and furnishing to the contributing public a guarantee that upon the withholding of these things shall come the dissolution of the corporation and the withdrawal of permission to receive or retain children.

The resources which churches and associations of citizens can devote to the care of children are insufficient to meet the needs of the great centres of population. Neither is it fair that the whole expense of the care of children should be drawn from individuals or associations willing to contribute. It is inexpedient to delegate to churches or private organizations the authority which it is necessary to exercise in the rescue of children from cruel treatment and vicious surroundings, to depend upon such facilities as they afford for searching out and bringing to notice the sins against children which appear to be so common, to charge them with the responsibility of continuous guardianship of children during minority or with the keeping of the elaborate records through which alone the ultimate results of the work done through long series of years can be ascertained or knowledge of it preserved. The State, therefore, will provide that where the effort of the citizen and the church fails, from want of authority or through insufficiency of resource, or is not such as the State approves, there its own work shall begin. Regarding neither Protestant, Catholic, nor Hebrew as such, caring nothing for color of skin, texture of hair, shape of eyes, or prominence of cheek-bones, but looking only to the transformation of the weak, the helpless, and the unfit into the strong, the helpful, and the efficient, and expecting to choke off at its fountain source some part of the flood of pauperism, imbecility, and vice, the State will exercise its authority, and draw upon its resources of patriotism and money. It will provide, in the first place, a body of citizens, each of whom has some leisure

which he is willing to devote to work established by legislative enactment, who will accept a governmental appointment upon a child-caring commission, and who will be a strong factor in the upbuilding of an authoritative and yet conservative system. The members of this commission will be appointed by the exercise of public authority, and will be removable for cause. Their terms of office will be arranged to expire at considerable intervals, to avoid sudden and violent changes in membership and policy, and their duties clearly set forth by statutory enactments.

It will be the duty of such a commission to entertain all reports on behalf of children supposed to be in any such condition as makes necessary or desirable the intervention of public authority; through appropriate representatives, located in each county, parish, or municipality, as may be required, to make searching examinations into the facts of all such cases, and to present before the courts of justice designated for the purpose, for farther and more authoritative examination, all children apparently in need of public care or for whom no other adequate provision is offered. There will be separate courts for the hearing of such cases, and their proceedings will be divested of all semblance of the execution of criminal law. If ever the setting aside of the mere technicalities of procedure is justified in court, it would be justified in such courts as these. The object will be to ascertain all the facts in the case, and nothing will be allowed to interfere with the attainment of that object. The decrees of such courts will give into the keeping of the child-caring commission, created by the State, all children whose necessities demand such guardianship. These decrees will be absolute for the time being, but revocable in any instance by the same or a higher court, upon presentation of new evidence of a nature different from that upon which the original finding was based.

Having assumed charge of children in obedience to orders of the court having authority to commit, the child-caring commission will, through an expert superintendent, at once decide what is to be the situation of such children for the immediate future, whether to be paroled and sent home to be watched over by wise and skilful agents, sent into a reformatory, placed in an institution created for the purpose of receiving such children pending farther study of their habits and characteristics, placed at once in foster homes, boarded out or left in the custody of one or the other parent, such parent

being placed, without expense to the State, in a position to control and provide for his or her child. The court of jurisdiction will also be authorized to order the collection of a contribution toward maintenance from parents able, but unwilling, to provide for their offspring, and to enforce such orders by attachment issued against the property, wages, and person of such parent, the children remaining under the protection of public authority. By the operation of such a system, children found in temporary distress will be promptly removed to appropriate institutions or placed in selected boarding homes until their parents have so far improved their condition that the children can safely be restored to them. Consideration of comparative advantages will not, however, control the reception or retention of children. The question to be decided must never be one arising out of comparison between the wealth of the institution or the comfort of the boarding home and the bare surroundings and meagre support of the parental home, but whether it is morally and physically safe that those directly under consideration should reside with their parents.

There will be no hard and fast rules laid down for the government of cases wherein municipal or statutory laws have been disregarded by children. Such children will be committed to the care of experts whose life-work and profession it is to decide what should be done in each case dealt with. Some will be at once released on parole, returning to their former homes. Some will be deported to distant family homes, and carefully and judiciously guided into better ways; and some will go at once to reformatory institutions, where they will learn, under more or less hard conditions, those lessons of industry, personal honor, and self-control which alone will enable them to use wisely the larger liberty to which they will by and by be restored.

In the ideal arrangement the State child-caring commission will select from among its wards, whether in the State institution used as a receiving and distributing centre, boarded out, or residing in their own homes on probation, such children as show special aptitude in receiving industrial or literary education, and place within their reach appropriate educational advantages. It will select for indenture to farmers, tradesmen, and others those who will find in the homes of such persons the measure of their several capacities for usefulness. It will deliver to the reformatory those who exhibit lia-

bility to become decidedly refractory, and will hand down for special training or lifelong sequestration those whose progressive degeneracy renders them unfit for association with their kind under normal conditions.

Thus will private charity and church philanthropy remain untouched by officialism, except in so far as may be necessary for the protection of the children. Thus will be sharply drawn, and not crossed, the line between the duty of the church or the private association and the duty of the State. Thus will parental rights be sacredly guarded and parental neglect adequately and promptly dealt with. Thus will be removed the temptation of weak and vacillating parents to relinquish to public care children for whom they should provide at home, the burden of the support of children at the expense of persons other than their parents will not unduly increase; and yet it will be made certain that no little child need long remain subjected to physical abuse, moral contamination, or hurtful poverty. Thus will be removed the bars to the progress of those fit to become great. The tolerably good and the tolerably bad will find tolerable conditions, and thus will the melancholy residuum find its appropriate level, and cease to bring forth after its kind.

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INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDREN.

THE PRACTICAL DETAILS OF THEIR MANAGEMENT.

BY LYMAN P. ALDEN,

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ROSE ORPHAN HOME.

Government.— It is the province of the board of managers to appoint the superintendent, to define the aims and general scope of the work, to establish the maximum limit of salaries, to limit the general expenditures, to see that the money is wisely expended, and that the results of the whole work are generally satisfactory. The board can also greatly assist the superintendent by advice, sym-

pathy, and moral support. Much beyond this I do not think that any board of managers can go without endangering the success of the institution. There cannot be two superintendents at the same time. If the one appointed is not the proper person for the position, he should be removed, and another chosen. If he is, then he should have the liberty to secure the general results sought for in his own way. The superintendent is constantly on the ground, and in sympathetic touch with all things about him, and intuitively recognizes their drift. He becomes familiar with all the minute details of the work, and should thoroughly know the dispositions of the children and employees, as well as the qualifications of the latter. Theories that might seem practicable to the board, he finds, upon trial, will not work well, at least without some modifications. Employees that by their appearance or recommendations may have very favorably impressed the board may prove a great disappointment to him. He knows that there should be changes; but the proofs of this are sometimes so intangible that they would rarely impress the board as they do him; and for that reason, unless the power of selecting and discharging his helpers is lodged in his own hands, he would often suffer evils to go uncorrected rather than run the risk of not being able to convince his superiors of the correctness of his views.

The delegation of such responsibilities to a superintendent implies that he or she should be a discerning, humane, just person who is actuated by Christian principle.

In turn, the superintendent must allow his subordinates as much freedom of action as is practicable in the performance of their duties, if he wishes to develop their latent talents, have them take an intelligent interest in their work, and be something more than machines.

Discipline.— To maintain good discipline in an institution is one of the most serious tasks that confront the superintendent. Perhaps more fail in this than in any other part of the work. So far as the discipline of the employees is concerned, the best way to secure it is to be extremely cautious in selecting those only who have an established reputation for being capable, trusty, loyal, and amiable. "An ounce of prevention" here "is worth a pound of cure." But, notwithstanding these precautions, misunderstandings and hard feelings between employees will sometimes arise, or the work will be inefficiently performed, or the rules of the institution will be dis-

obeyed. These evils the superintendent can often correct by talking with the offenders privately in a kind, fatherly way. But when, after several plain admonitions, an employee continues to make trouble or proves to be incompetent, the sooner that person is removed, the better. But one must not expect perfection. One must be satisfied if he can secure sixty or seventy points out of the hundred that go to make up an ideal worker.

In securing discipline among the children, gentle measures should always be used as far as is possible. Many of the children can be controlled by kindness and reason alone. But all cannot be. Upon some, gentle words and kindness make no more impression, in restraining them from evil-doing, than water does on a duck's back, or the request of the man in the old fable, "who found a rude boy up in his apple-tree stealing apples, and mildly desired him to come down." Beecher once said, during the Kansas trouble, "Moral suasion is a good thing, but it must be backed with Sharpe rifles." So punishments are sometimes necessary to restrain and keep the children in good order while "moral suasion" is getting hold of them. For some children demerit marks, deprivation of play, may prove a sufficient punishment. But others require a more heroic treatment.

It must be remembered that punishments are not reformatory of themselves. They can only temporarily restrain and deter from wrong-doing. They are reformatory so far only as they aid in making good permanent impressions upon the mind; and the old maxim will always hold true, "*The minimum of punishment is the maximum of excellence.*"

The authority to administer minor punishments such as a wise, kind mother would use in her own family, with proper limitations and safeguards, should be delegated, I think, to the teachers and cottage managers or similar attendants under whose immediate care and control the children come, leaving the cases of unusual difficulty for the superintendent to regulate. Of course, such a plan presupposes that the right persons — people of intelligence, wisdom, and kindness — are filling those positions, and that the superintendent sees to it that they do not abuse their authority. No officer, teacher, or attendant should ever pull a child's ears or hair, box its head, slap its face or jerk it around, as many mothers do their own children.

Children who remain incorrigible, as some will after remaining

months or years under the best influences that the institution or families where they have been placed several times can bring to bear upon them, should be removed. Their evil influence will otherwise often largely neutralize that of the institution for good.

Schools.— In my opinion, it is much better, as a rule, that the children should be instructed in schools connected with the institution rather than in the graded city schools.

As the children enter the institutions at all seasons of the year, it is difficult to grade them in the public schools; and, as they are to remain in the institution but a short time, it is important that they should be kept steadily in school. But the city schools have long summer vacations, so that a child entering the institution in April or May would practically receive no instruction till about the middle of September. During such long vacations the children become restless and hard to manage, as they have not that variety of amusements and employments that occupy the time and attention of children in families. My schools continue all summer, with only two weeks' vacation, when our children generally want school to commence again.

Again, many children enter our schools and institutions at the age of twelve or thirteen years without knowing a letter. If sent to the city schools, they must be placed in the primary rooms with small children, which is mortifying to a sensitive child. In the schools of the institution there are so many children of considerable age who are backward that they do not feel the disgrace. The children of the city schools are apt to look upon them with contempt, as pauper children. Again, it is difficult to get so many small children to school in time, in bad weather, if the school-house is far away.

The last reason I shall present is that it gives the institution better control over its children. The superintendent knows that they are in school, and not playing truant. Quite a number of children in most institutions have been truants from the city schools, and were regarded as almost incorrigible by the teachers before entering the institution; and they need close watching.

There are doubtless some institutions situated favorably near country or small village schools where these objections would not obtain.

Since the children are to remain in the institution for so short a time, the aim of the teachers should be to impart the greatest

amount of practical information in the quickest and best way. The live teacher will go outside her school books, and keep the children posted on all the leading discoveries, inventions, and current events of the day by short talks or brief, well-selected articles read to them.

Industrial Training.— Along with the training of the head should go that of the hands. Most of these children will be obliged to support themselves by manual labor. In the larger institutions like the soldiers' orphan homes, where the children often remain many years and are somewhat advanced in age, it may be desirable to have shops and the various trades taught. But in most of the children's institutions this would be impracticable on account of the age and short residence of the children.

However, in all such institutions there is always an abundance of work to keep all children over eight years of age employed when not in school or at play. There is sweeping, mopping, dusting, cleaning windows and wood-work, making beds, mending, sewing, cooking, laundry work, washing and wiping dishes, gardening, milking, hauling coal, caring for stock, and many other things. Nearly all these things boys can do just as well as girls. It makes but little difference *what* children under twelve years of age do, provided they are useful. The main thing is to form industrious habits. They should not, as a rule, be kept more than a few months at a time at any one kind of work, that they may have variety of occupation, and learn to do as many useful things as is possible.

Early Rising.— If the work of an institution is to be done mainly with the help of the children, as above described, early rising is a necessity, in order to place everything in complete order before school-time. For twenty-one years the children of the two institutions that have been under my care have risen at five o'clock in the summer and at half-past five in the winter seasons. This may seem an unmercifully early hour to those who all their lives have been accustomed to retiring late at night and rising at seven or eight o'clock in the morning. But in the estimation of the children themselves there is no hardship in it. They retire early enough to secure about nine or ten hours' sleep; and the rising bell almost invariably finds them awake, eager to get up and begin the activities of the day. The habit of early rising is especially valuable to those who must earn their own living. These children will go out on farms, where they will be required to rise still earlier in the summer, and

they must learn to swing with the world; and this habit can be made easy only by acquiring it early in life.

Amusements and Recreations.— Children must have a great deal of play. Their amusements need not be expensive. They manage to extract a large amount of fun out of simple things. A pile of sand; a few square feet of garden that they can dig, plant, water, and hoe; a few nails, pine sticks, and old lumber, out of which they can construct kites, stilts, and playhouses, not only give them great pleasure, but "keep them out of *other* mischief" (as an old lady once said to me when she consented to let her children attend my Sabbath-school), and will do more toward maintaining good discipline than punishments. Of course, dolls, dishes, croquet sets, balls, swings, blocks for the small children, checker and backgammon boards, various games, papers, magazines, and books should be provided. A gymnasium of some kind for cold and stormy weather is very desirable. I use the large attics of my cottages on the third floor for play-rooms in bad weather. They should be taken to the woods occasionally; and taffy pullings, parties, and lawn teas in summer do them no harm. The holidays must be celebrated not only for the pleasure it affords the children, but also for the lessons of patriotism, virtue, and religion, which can be so inculcated.

Religious Instruction.— I have little faith in any reformatory measures that have not religious instruction as the basis. Many of our institutions are non-sectarian, some of them are under control of boards whose members are not professedly religious; but few would ever object to having the children taught the fundamental principles of religion as Christ taught them in his Sermon on the Mount.

In institutions organized on the family or cottage plan, where many of the children are quite small, it is better to have the religious exercises conducted in each cottage by the cottage mother, the children themselves taking an active part in the same, rather than to have the whole institution gathered daily in the chapel. It is more natural, more convenient, pleasanter, more like family worship, and less formal. The day schools in the morning should be opened by reading of the Scriptures and devotional exercises.

On the Sabbath, at nine o'clock in the morning or at three in the afternoon, is a good time for holding the Sunday-school in the chapel, in connection with which the superintendent or some visitor can make a brief address. In pleasant weather I have been accus-

tomed to allow many of the largest children to attend the nearest churches without attendants, and rarely ever hear of any misdemeanors on their part.

It is not advisable to prohibit all amusements on the Sabbath. Many of the children cannot read; and, though their cottage managers or other attendants read a great deal to them, they tire soon of sitting still. I would let them take walks, swing, play quiet games, romp on the grass under the trees, and do other things not boisterous or disturbing to those who wish to keep the day more strictly.

Food.— In arranging a bill of fare for the children, one must steer between two extremes of public opinion. On the one side are the tax-payers or supporters of the institution, who will naturally want the table, as all other expenses, reduced to the lowest limit consistent with the health and growth of the children. On the other hand, there are many people who live to eat, and think that eating is the most important thing in life. When they visit an institution, they seldom ask the children about their educational, moral, and religious advantages, ventilation, cleanliness, and health, but whether they have enough to eat, and especially whether they have *pie* and *cake*. Some of them seem to think that the main aim of these institutions is to starve good little children. They believe that there are many little Oliver Twists who "ask for more," and do not get it. There may be such institutions as Dickens caricatures in this country; but I have never visited one where an abundance of plain, wholesome food was not provided.

The aim should be to furnish as good food as the average well-to-do laborers furnish their own children. To do less than this would not satisfy the majority of the best citizens nor the children themselves. To do much more would not be wise, as it would increase the burdens for charity already becoming oppressive, tend to pamper the children and unfit them to enjoy the plain fare of the country homes where most of them will be placed. But, if one must err at all in feeding the children, it is wiser and safer to err on the side of over-indulgence. The children of this country would not be at all satisfied with the plain bills of fare furnished by European institutions. Whatever the food is, it should be well cooked, palatable, made of pure materials, abundant, and plenty of time should be allowed for eating.

As there are in all institutions unthankful, untruthful children, who,

when quizzed, will say that they do not have enough to eat or that the food is poor, it is safer to arrange a dietary, submit it to the board of managers, and the State Board of Charities, and, if approved by them, frame it, and hang it in the kitchen for the cook to follow. This need not prevent occasional changes which the superintendent may make for the sake of variety, and to pleasantly surprise the children with something better than usual.

Clothing.— The same general principle should apply in clothing the children as in feeding them. They should be clothed comfortably for all seasons of the year, and as neatly and tastily as respectable laboring people on an average clothe their own children. To ask more than this is not reasonable. It should be no reflection on any institution that allows its children while at work and play to wear well-patched clothing. Such a practice is rather to be commended as teaching lessons of economy and frugality. Children cannot be kept at all times on dress parade for visitors to look at. But, of course, they should have, in addition, respectable holiday clothing, as the children in families have.

Whether they should be clothed in uniform or not depends upon circumstances. While in charge of the Michigan State Public School at Coldwater, we dressed the boys in uniform; and, as it was a State institution and the boys were drilled in the manual of arms, the uniform did not brand them in that little city as charity children, but rather secured them respect and many favors, as does the uniform at a military school for the cadets. Their presence was frequently solicited on Decoration Days and at the county fairs, as their drill was one of the attractions. The girls were not in uniform. There were several advantages in uniforming the boys. There was an economy in having several thousands of yards of cloth of the same grade and color made up at the same time, and also in making many suits of the same pattern.

But in smaller or private institutions, and especially in cities of considerable size, it would be extremely unfortunate, I think, to mark the children by their dress as dependants upon charity. The children of the institution I now have charge of have always worn citizens' clothing, and cannot be distinguished from other children on the streets.

CATHOLIC CHILD-HELPING AGENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES:

THE MOTIVE, THE METHODS, AND THE RESULTS.

ABSTRACT OF PAPER BY THOMAS F. RING,*

PRESIDENT, PARTICULAR COUNCIL, SOCIETY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, BOSTON, MASS.

I. Introductory.

The motive is a simple one: it is to lead the soul of the child to God, and to preserve him to society as a useful member. The methods vary according to means and different conditions. I shall endeavor in the paper to give you an idea of the methods by a selection from the reports and letters I have received in response to a circular asking for information to be used in its preparation. The results are a gain of thousands of useful and orderly members to the country, and, I sincerely believe, the safety of unnumbered precious souls.

On one point all are agreed: the best use of the money and the efforts of the people is in instructing and training the youth of our land to become good members of society, honest, diligent, sober, and God-fearing. Neglect or hamper this instruction, and you fill the jails and become responsible for a long line of criminal lives.

With sincere respect and admiration for the work done by so many of our fellow-citizens for the safety of the child, I must temper this admiration with the regret that in many instances the religious rights of the poor child are not regarded nor respected as scrupulously as they should be. Yet it is the very purpose of the National Conference to bring together all classes of charitable workers to exchange thoughts freely, but respectfully and honestly, to bring about a better understanding and a more perfect harmony in action by personal intercourse and frank, manly, and amicable interchange of such ideas; for we have a common purpose,—the good of the child and the consequent good of the country. I propose to take a child as an infant, and so on through its growth to manhood, and

*This paper in full may be had by applying to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Charity Building, Boston.

show by selection from different agencies how the Catholic organizations meet the demands on them, not as fully as they would desire, but equal to the means at their command to work with.

II. Infants and Reformation of their Mothers.

New York Foundling Hospital. — This hospital was opened Oct. 11, 1869. Intended for reception of babies of unmarried parents, the Sisters have a chance to question the mother, to comfort and persuade many of them to stay in the house with the child for three months at least, and often much longer. Three months to foster the maternal instinct, three months to learn to love the child, has been the salvation of many a mother.

If the mother cannot remain and care for her baby, a nurse must at once be provided. She must be a respectable married woman, and must have a certificate from a physician showing she is in good health.

The nurse takes the child to her own home, and keeps it, as a rule, two years and a half. A card, on which are printed the rules to be observed, is given her. The baby's name and number, as well as the name of the nurse, are written on the same card.

An agent of the hospital visits the home of the nurse within one week, and satisfies himself of the respectability of the nurse, and makes himself familiar with the sanitary conditions of her home. Once a month a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society visits the home without giving notice of the time of his visit.

On the first Wednesday of the month the nurse is obliged to present herself and the child at the hospital. She receives her pay. The infant is carefully examined, and statement of the child's condition is entered on a book. If the child should be sick during the month, the nurse is to bring it at once to the hospital to be treated there. Very rarely is a nurse permitted to call a doctor to visit her house to see the child.

Twice a year an outfit of clothing is provided, the summer clothing on the first Wednesday of May, and for the winter on the first Wednesday of November.

Adoption into families was decided upon as the best method of properly disposing of the children unclaimed. An agent finds homes for them, mostly in some of the Western States. Bands of

fifty of the little toddlers go off to meet "papa and mamma"; for so the expected foster parents are spoken of in the hospital. May God's blessing rest upon the household that takes a little child in His name!

The adopted parents are required to report on the 1st of May of each year as to the condition of the child. The system of reporting is so well managed that the hospital claims to be able to put its hand upon nearly every one of the children placed out.

Up to November, 1893, the date of Mrs. Bouvier's paper, which I have condensed for this statement, 24,331 foundlings have been received, 3,000 mothers protected, many hundreds of them provided with respectable positions.

About 1,900 babies are in care of the hospital, the average death-rate being 21 per cent.

III. Young Children: Placing directly into Families.

(*a*) *Home for Destitute Catholic Children, Boston.*— The home is a temporary refuge for destitute children. It cares for and instructs them until they are restored to their relatives or provided with good homes in Catholic families. It has been in existence over thirty years. During all that time no destitute or neglected child has ever been turned from its doors. 12,825 children have been received and cared for without money or promise of payment. Children — boys and girls — between three and fourteen years of age are admitted. Conditional surrenders of the children from the parents or guardians are secured in all cases possible. The signing of the conditional surrender is a hold on the parents to oblige them to call for their children and to take them out within a short time,— in two months, one month, or a longer term,— so that, if parents are unable or unfitted to care for the children within the time given in the surrender or extension of the same, suitable homes may be found for the children in Catholic families. The report for the year ending Jan. 9, 1896, shows: children in home January, 1895, 176; admitted, 899; placed in families and otherwise discharged, 864; died, 10; remaining Jan. 9, 1896, 201. More than half the children discharged are placed in families. Daily average, 195. About one-half of the daily population is of children whose parents are complained of in the courts for neglect or for abuse of the

children. These children are kept until the cases in court are disposed of, the shortest time being three months; and it may stretch out into six months or longer. No payment is asked or offered for the board of this class of children.

The corporation is composed of laymen and one priest. The domestic service and teaching are in charge of Sisters of Charity, who receive food and lodging and a nominal sum in money to buy clothes in compensation for their services.

Children are placed out in free homes under agreement that the child shall be treated kindly, shall have a good common-school education and attend church regularly, and shall be surrendered at once to the corporation whenever for their own reasons the corporation may require it. The parish priest must approve all applications for children; and he is practically the representative of the home, empowered to remove a child from any place where he may not be well treated, or, in case of a girl, if for any reason the home should not be a proper one for her to remain in. Once a year or oftener the parish priest reports to the corporation, in writing, just how the children placed in his parish are getting on. The family taking the child is required to report on a printed form once in six months; and, in case of not reporting, a visitor is sent at once to find out why. Complaints of ill-treatment are investigated at once by a visiting agent of the home.

Many of the children go into families where the old people, having seen their own children go off and settle for themselves, crave the company of young persons about the house. Sometimes families come as applicants for girls of thirteen to fifteen years, really to do housework for the food and clothes that might be given them; but such applicants get no comfort at the home. They are told to hire the girl, and pay her decent wages, and be honest about it. The home has no income except the charity of the Catholic people, which has not failed them in meeting the annual expenditure of about $25,000, besides paying for the large house now used by the home. Being a temporary home, designed to place children in families as soon as good chances are offered, crippled, demented, or diseased children cannot be admitted, or, if admitted inadvertently, must be placed in hospitals designed for such unfortunates.

ASYLUM TRAINING.

(*b*) *Dominican Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, New York City, and St. Agnes Convent, Sparkhill, Rockland County, N.Y.* — For boys and girls, aged from two to sixteen years of age. 320 boys and 71 girls at the St. Agnes Convent, Sparkhill, January, 1896; 248 girls at the house in New York City, January, 1896. Most of the children are committed as destitute children, and are at the cost of the city until sixteen years of age, if not placed out or returned to friends previously. The buildings were erected and the land paid for by private contributions. Since the opening of the institution May, 1876, more than 8,000 children have been received, supported, and religiously trained. The girls receive a special training in sewing, domestic work, etc., to fit them to meet the difficulties of the world. The boys are taught the ordinary branches of an English education, and have military instruction as a method of discipline and recreation. Many good situations are obtained for the boys and girls on leaving. In addition to the above the same Sisters have 200 colored children at St. Benedict's Home, Rye, N.Y.

IV. INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

(*a*) *St. Francis Industrial School, Eddington, Pa.* — Boys, eleven to sixteen years of age, are received directly from poor parents or from St. John's Orphan Asylum, Philadelphia. None of the boys come from the courts. 39 admitted and 34 discharged in 1895, 303 in the school Jan. 1, 1896. Annual expenses about $31,000, paid by the noble patrons of the school, the families of Drexel and Morel, of Philadelphia.

The boys have three hours a day in shop-work,— tailoring, shoemaking for the school, blacksmithing, bricklaying, carpentry, plumbing, wood-carving, besides boys employed in the steam and electric plant of the house. Four years in the course. Military training, with drill and band music each Thursday afternoon for the four companies of young soldiers.

Boys graduate at sixteen, and are sent to the Branch Home, 9th Street, Philadelphia, which is an outlet from the Industrial School, and is under direction of the Christian Brothers, whose principal

business is to see that the boys get employment as soon as possible, and are placed under proper masters.

The greater number of the graduates continue to board at the 9th Street branch at a figure in keeping with a beginner's limited wages. Those whose wages permit may board outside; but, as they have formed themselves into a union, whose meetings are held at the house on 9th Street, it is easy to keep track of them until they finally settle down in life. So far the great majority have turned out very well, and are giving general satisfaction.

(*b*) *St. Mary's Industrial School, Boys (White), Baltimore.*— This is a corporation doing work for the city and State, and is regulated in conformity with the ordinances of the city and laws of the State. White boys from eight to sixteen years of age are received from parents or the asylums or from the courts under magistrates' committal, if the parent or guardian requests the boy to be sent to St. Mary's Industrial School.

Boys remain in the school in the custody of the corporation or are dismissed, under oversight of the school, until twenty-one years of age.

About $80 per year is paid from the public funds for the board and training of each boy committed by a magistrate. Parents able to pay something toward the board of the children are expected to pay according to their means. In 1895 717 boys were in the school. 224 passed out, and 483 remained at the end of the year. 3,745 were cared for since 1866. 90 per cent. stated as doing well and caring for themselves. All sorts are received; and, under the Bill of Rights, all are permitted and encouraged to worship God according to their consciences. Study hours from 7 to 10 A.M. No study by gas-light or after working hours. Boys learning trades must serve four years, but may be released at any time for proper cause. 117 in tailor shops, 84 in hosiery shop, 20 in printing-office, 68 in broom shop, 10 in the kitchen, 5 in carpenter shop, 6 in the laundry, 4 in the garden, 3 in bakery, and 2 painters.

There is an annex known as St. James Home for Boys, where boys who have left the Industrial School or other boys old enough to make a living may board. The house is supported partly by the Immaculate Conception Union. Boys at work pay $1.75, if earning $3.50 or less, and $2.50, if earning $4.50 or more. Average, 54 boys. Cost of operation, $6,000. Boys' board nets $2,700. Balance made up by charitable societies and private offerings.

(*c*) *Boys' Orphan Asylum and Protectory at West Seneca, N.Y.*— Organized in 1864, for destitute children of Buffalo, located at Victoria, West Seneca, N.Y. The Asylum and the Protectory are two distinct departments in different buildings. 500 boys in the two houses. Catholic boys, if destitute, received from any part of the country, and, after some training in the day school and the trade school, are established in selected and approved Catholic families. The average stay in the Protectory department is about nine months.

The daily average population of the Protectory is about 325; the yearly admissions, 295; range of ages, seven to fourteen years; hours per week in school, 30; hours per week in shop instruction, 18. About one-third of the number of boys committed by magistrates.

The religious training of the boys is carefully attended to, thus giving them a good basis for usefulness and an honorable future.

Rev. Father Baker, who is the director of the institutions, writes, in reply to my question how the boys turn out after leaving, "I am unable to give a correct average, but can say the general results are very gratifying." Some of the boys have attained good positions, as a member of the present Congress is a graduate. Another graduate is mayor of the city in which he lives.

(*d*) *New York Protectory for Boys and Girls.**— Incorporated in 1863, empowered to take into its care children between seven and fourteen years of age, who might be committed to said corporation as idle, truant, or homeless children by order of any magistrate in the city of New York empowered by law to make committal for any such cause.

V. Boys working in Cities.

St. Joseph's Home for Homeless Boys, Philadelphia, Pa.— Average, 106 boys, who must be surrendered to the home by parents or guardians. Boys old enough go out to work in the city, and come home between twelve and two for a hot dinner; or, if too far to return at noon, they are provided with a lunch to carry with them, and at night are given a hot dinner.

Boys at work pay $1.50 per week, and deposit any surplus money in the home bank, where it is kept for them. Some boys have $50

* For a full account of the New York Protectory, see report National Conference Charities and Correction, Buffalo, 1888.

to their credit. Sunday, after Mass, they are free to spend the day in the park or in the country, some little spending money being given them. A house at the seaside, with accommodations for thirty boys, gives them the happiest days of their childhood.

Day school for the boys not at work, and one hour at night for those employed. They leave when seventeen years old, and are found proper boarding-places under the kind care of the home, which tries to secure suitable employment for the graduates. Playground, gymnasium, military drill, a theatre, and a library are provided.

The home is supported by donations of 25 cents a year and upward from a long list of contributors, the offering being payable March 19, the feast of Saint Joseph. This is not a reformatory, as no boy of criminal inclination will be admitted. Homeless or neglected boys needing a home are the subjects of the home; and, except for the large numbers gathered, they are as well provided for as 95 per cent. of the boys in the average family.

VI. Trade and Farm School Combined.

There is one important reason why a trade school teaching the rudiments of industrial training, if not a complete trade, is generally selected for the industrial education of the boys. Most of the boys are from the city, who do not like country life, and who would not stay on a farm,— if sent to one, generally go back to the cities, and gain or get a living there. So it is wise to equip them with some knowledge of a trade, to enable them to obtain employment in the city. Of course, a boy of five to seven years of age, if sent to a farmer, is likely to grow up contented in the country; but it is not easy to wean a boy of twelve or fourteen, born and brought up in a city, from his liking for city life, and to make him content in the country.

In the diocese of Wilmington, Del., the farm appears to be an important factor; for St. James Orphan Asylum has a farm of 100 acres, and their 60 boys work on it. St. Joseph's Asylum for colored boys, Wilmington, receives boys from two to seventeen years of age. Average population, 300. The larger boys are sent to a farm in Clayton, of about 150 acres, and are taught to do farm work, and find places in farms when they leave. Trades are also taught at the

Clayton farm. As all the boys are colored vagabonds, taken from the streets of Wilmington, instructed and made useful members of the community, and have generally done well, I am not surprised at the inquiry of my friend in Wilmington, who asks me if we have any thing like this in the cultured city of Boston.

I do not think we have 300 colored vagabonds in Boston. We have many times that number of white ones, though. Wilmington, being in an agricultural section, offers a good field for farming schools, among a people used to farming.

The farm connected with St. Mary's Training School, Feehanville, Ill., makes a good showing in the last report of the school. It is a farm of 440 acres, with improvements, value $60,000, the produce of the farm last year valued at $7,000. The departments named in the report are farm and garden, dairy and poultry yards, cattle yard, printing shop, bakery, laundry, tailor shop, shoe shop, carpenter shop. 361 boys in the school Dec. 31, 1895.

VII. Training in Institutions vs. Boarding-out Plan.

Mr. Oscar Craig (page 82, International Conference of Charities, 1893) states that New York City in 1890, with a population of 1,500,000 people, supported 15,449 children in private institutions; while Philadelphia, with a population of 1,000,000, appropriated $28,000 for support of an average of less than 250 children in institutions.

The reports of Hon. William P. Letchworth, member of the New York Board of State Charities, give cogent reason for preferring the asylum system in New York, with its incidental evils, to the boarding-out system of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

Hon. Elbridge T. Gerry, president of the New York Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, at a Conference on Children in New York in 1893, made an address, from which I copy some sentences bearing on this particular phase of the subject: —

To my mind, the city of New York can well afford to spend, not $1,000,000, but, if necessary, $5,000,000 in the support, care, and training of the destitute and indigent children and dependent children in the city of New York. One child neglected, not simply in its common-school education, but in its moral and religious training, may result in the production of a dangerous criminal, whose

misdeeds may cost the city of New York ten times the amount it would have cost to educate and train him before conviction. . . .

We have to deal with the dependent child; and what are we going to do with it? If neglected, it becomes either a vicious or an idle person. Ignorance is the parent of vice, and this is the material out of which habitual criminals are made. . . .

The welfare of the child requires, where the question of its reformation is involved, that the latter shall not be jeopardized, and that its progress and reformation are best determined by those having the daily care and oversight of the child. Who else is to judge when it is fit to be discharged and sent back to the outer world?

Mr. Gerry, in closing, said: "I have no theories. I have been too long engaged in child-saving to have theories. I have tried to give you facts as they are, and to present to you facts without arguments."

Mr. Frank B. Fay, of Boston, in a paper read at the International Conference of Charities, Chicago, 1893, said: —

If we are sometimes questioned as to the expediency of breaking up homes and placing children in institutions, it is well to admit that institution life is not the natural life for a child. At the same time most of these rescued children need the reconstructive influence of an institution, to prepare them for admission into an average family.

Most homes will not bear with the habits and deficiencies of such children, when first taken from the influences in which they have been reared.

The experience of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities has led them to favor placing young children who are not of the criminal class directly into families after the shortest practicable stay in the house of reception.

Even children in the reform schools are transferred at the earliest day practicable to family life. Institution life for children is not at all in favor with the Massachusetts Board of State Charities.

VIII. Reformation of Girls and Young Women.

Association for befriending children and young girls. House of the Holy Family, New York City, Good Counsel Farm, White Plains, N.Y., in charge of the Sisters of the Divine Compassion. Remarkable in showing the fertility of good seed providentially planted in

forming a sewing school in New York, which led to the formation of a great reformatory for girls, and created in its development a new order of Sisters specially trained for the perpetuation of the work.

Some ladies proposed to open a weekly sewing school in St. Bernard's Parish in New York City in September, 1869. Notice of the intended opening was given in the church, but on the Saturday of the opening the three ladies who came to teach found no pupils. After waiting for an hour, they went out into the streets and to the neighboring houses, and brought in some twenty girls. But the material they gathered was of such a character that the ladies found themselves at once committed to a work far deeper and broader than they ever had anticipated. There were children of ten years already confirmed drunkards. Girls of fourteen fallen to the lowest deep of vice and depravity. No wonder they did not come at the call of the pastor; for, though nominal Catholics, and living within a square of the church, they had never entered its doors. At once it was determined to hold sessions on Tuesdays as well as Saturdays, and by Christmas the number had grown to 250 regular attendants. They met at ten in the morning, when school was opened with a few short prayers, after which work previously cut and prepared was distributed to the girls by a band of zealous ladies now numbering fifteen.

A house was opened the 25th of March, 1870, at 316 W. 14th Street, with accommodations for 45 children; in May, 1871, removed to 247 E. 13th Street. In 1874 the house No. 136, Second Avenue, was bought; and in 1883 an adjoining building was leased. In 1886 the Rule of the Sisters of the Divine Compassion was approved by the Most Reverend Archbishop Corrigan, an Order trained for the work of the Holy Family, which Order has care of the children now. A bill passed the legislature in 1880 allowing one dollar per week for each inmate, not nearly enough to pay cost, but supplementing private charity, and enabling the house to do much good that otherwise it could not do. The average daily family is 108. The whole number of persons cared for, from 1870 to 1895, was 17,800.

Candidates for admission are received either on their own application or through those who may be interested in them.

A school is opened in the house wherein the inmates are daily instructed in all the departments of an ordinary common-school education.

There is no uniform; but the dress is simple and inexpensive, with such variations as the taste of each may suggest.

Fully 75 per cent. of those who have left the institution are doing well, and those who do fail, sooner or later, return to its care; and it is, indeed, a rare thing for the Sisters to entirely lose sight of any whom they have once called "our children." In the matter of industrial training the report of 1880 states the plan to be to train a woman thoroughly in some branch of industry by which she can make a living, and to dismiss her at the earliest practicable moment, so she may earn her own living, and not become institutionized by a long stay in the house. Domestic service is regarded as the safest and most profitable for graduates, offering less chances for temptation, and giving a safe shelter in good surroundings. Six months to one year is the average term in the New York house.

(*a*) *Protection of Little Children.*— In 1892 the work of caring for innocent young children, brothers and sisters of the older girls, was commenced, and is carried on at Good Counsel Farm, White Plains, N.Y. About 200 children, boys under eight years and little girls, make the family at the farm.

(*b*) *Girls, Reformation and Preservation.*— The Houses of the Good Shepherd, in their work of reformation of women, have a distinct class for preservation of girls from ten to eighteen years of age. The girls are separated entirely from the older inmates, and do not come in contact with them in any way.

Three hours of school each day, the rest of the time being spent in work suited to their age and in the hours allotted to meals, recreation, and religious exercise.

Two to three years is the term recommended for treatment of the average subject, though the individual case is treated on its own merits and conditions.

IX. Visits to the Homes of Poor Children.

St. Vincent de Paul Society.— This society of laymen, having branches known as Conferences in nearly all the larger cities and important towns in the country, does an important preventive work among the children of the poor.

Five hundred Conferences, seven thousand members meeting weekly the year through, visiting the homes of the poor week after

week, having strict injunctions to watch the families for the sake of the children as well as for the relief of the needs of the whole family, but to stand by the family to insure the safety of the children; to endure much and tolerate a great deal for the sake of having a chance to do some good for the child. With such counsel constantly insisted upon by the traditions and rules of the society, the poor child is a special care on the vigilance of the members.

By the activity of the members the children are brought to school dressed in decent and suitable clothing. Children are saved from the abuse or neglect of dissipated parents. Situations are found for those old enough to work. Through the medium of the Conferences the foundations of many a useful work for children have been laid. The St. Vincent de Paul's Newsboys' Lodging House in Warren Street, New York, became, under the charge of that modern wonder, Father Drumgoole, the beginning of the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, which shelters to-day over 2,500 children in its houses.

The action of the society in Boston in caring for a few babies led to the formation of the St. Mary's Infant Asylum, now well established and doing excellent work in a modern and approved method.

In Brooklyn and in Newark are St. Vincent de Paul Homes for boys, supported mainly by the Conferences.

In Boston and New York the society has agents in the courts to act in the interests of Catholic children. Philadelphia has the same, though not directly supported by the society. Our Boston society, while a local infant asylum was in financial straits, took up the boarding of infants in families in the country, and had at one time 150 babies in country places within a radius of twenty miles of the city. The death-rate among the infants was 25 per cent., the low rate due to the good effect of country air, and the fact that not over two babies were given to one woman for her care. Not often did any woman have more than one from our office. For several successive years the cost of caring for the babies was $10,000 annually, one-half being paid by relatives. We are practically out of the business now, as the Infant Asylum is started again, and is working well. The report of the agent of the special work for children in Boston shows the thousands of visits made to children and the hundreds of children helpfully counselled and directed every year by the office alone. In the Conferences the name of

every child in the families aided is a matter of record, and the watchful President of the Conference holds every member to give a strict account of the young children by questioning him frequently as to their condition.

Seaside homes are established by the St. Vincent de Paul Society for sick children and the mothers, and for tired mothers and noisy, healthy children. Country weeks to country homes in Catholic families are becoming a part of the programme every summer now. The children are the special cause of care in all our cities. Some Conferences go so far as to say they would spend every cent they could get their hands on for the children, if they were free to pass by some less deserving. The society sends its members into the city and State institutions to visit and instruct poor children of the Catholic faith. There is no end to the variety of calls on the charity of the Catholic public, but none so touches the heart and brings out a more generous response than an appeal to help the children.

Conclusion.

It has not been my intention to read a schedule of all our Catholic agencies, but to select specimens which might serve my purpose of showing how they care for the poor Catholic child through successive stages, up to the time when he should be able to provide for himself. Hence I have been compelled, in order to avoid duplication, to leave many excellent institutions without special mention.

Whoever studies our Catholic charities will notice two features: the relatively large demands which are made upon them, for we have many poor; and the comparative insufficiency of means that can be obtained to support them, for we have few Catholics who are wealthy.

We can, however, name with grateful recognition such munificent benefactors as Miss Caldwell, Father McMahon, Joseph Banigan, the Drexels, and the Morels; but the main dependence of our charities is upon the small offerings of the many, who, while unable to give largely, do give cheerfully. One diocese opens an industrial school for boys, asking contributions of $1 a year or 10 cents a month. This small sum multiplied by thousands will furnish the mainstay of the school. I have seen an eight-page supplement of a newspaper filled with long columns of names of contributors of

from $1 to $10, aggregating $13,000, the annual donation to an orphan asylum; but a picnic is made to yield $5,000 in one day, another way of bringing in everybody's dollar. Self-sacrifice, unflinching perseverance, and hard work make up the deficiency. Hundreds of devoted men and women consecrate their whole lives to the service of the poor children, receiving in return their food, lodging, and clothes, all they ask in this world. Legacies of large or small sums often come opportunely to the aid of a struggling institution. The average experience of the whole teaches all to depend with implicit faith on Divine Providence for daily bread, and to be thankful and content therewith.

But why all this toil and sacrifice, when, if the Catholics did nothing, the same children might be cared for by the State, they might be clothed and fed and taught by the State? Simply because the Catholic Church would thus play the part of the mother who deserted her own child, of a Rousseau who sent his offspring to the almshouse.

She has a responsibility before God for the safety of the child born in her fold. The mission of our Catholic charities is not a proselyting, but a preservative mission. In the absence or neglect of suitable parental care, it is her duty to gather in her little ones, and lead them along her own path to heaven. We leave others to do their duty in their own way with those who have a close claim on them. We ask that the State, in its relations to the children of the poor, shall respect the religious rights of all, be they Catholic, Protestant, or Jew; and, though imperfectly carried out in some places, the general intent of the law is to guarantee such liberty of conscience,—this fundamental principle of our American Constitution.

I desire to thank the National Conference of Charities and Correction for the honor conferred in inviting me to present a paper on the subject of Catholic Charities relating to Children. I should never have dreamed of volunteering to offer such a paper myself. That would be, on my part, rash presumption; for I know of many who, if they undertook the work, would have presented the subject in a manner far better than I have. But I have an idea that the selection of the writer was due to the friendly suggestion of some who, though not Catholics, have observed on the part of our lay-

man's Society of St. Vincent de Paul an open readiness to co-operate with any religious denomination, especially in the cause of the children, and therefore felt it might be a graceful courtesy to invite a member of such a Catholic society to present the subject in his own way to the National Conference.

As a member of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, I appreciate the kindly act. I have undertaken the task as a duty. I speak for myself. I do not assume to act as spokesman for the millions of my fellow-Catholics in the United States. I have brought some industry and some experience to the work. More than that I do not claim.

I am fortified against adverse criticism by that reflection of John Henry Newman, "If a man waits to do a thing until he can do it so well that no one can find fault with it, he will never do anything."

XIII.

Juvenile Reform.

THE USE OF LIBRARIES IN REFORMATORY WORK.

BY F. G. KRAEGE,

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School libraries are coming to be important factors in educational work. A collection of books in every school-room for every-day use is coming to be considered a most essential part of the school building's furniture. If libraries and reading-rooms are a help to the work of other schools, they are indispensable to that of industrial schools; for these institutions perform the functions that are exercised outside of them by the family, the school, the church, and the community. They are, therefore, in duty bound to provide the inmates with the reading matter that would otherwise be supplied from the sources just named. Furthermore, when the vast majority of the inmates are received, they have not acquired the habit of reading at all, or else their minds and hearts have been corrupted by the reading of pernicious literature to an extent that makes it almost impossible for them to appreciate wholesome reading. This again emphasizes the necessity of cultivating among the inmates a habit of reading wisely, and of creating in them a love and taste for wholesome literature. The fact that the minds of the majority of the inmates have been blunted by lack of use or injured by misuse makes this task especially difficult, but it also makes it more imperative and more productive of good results.

The reading habit is a growth, a development, not a creation; and this habit will be formed unconsciously by the inmates if they are provided with a sufficient number of books and periodicals, and are given time for reading them. But to have them form the habit

of reading wisely requires strong resolution and infinite pains on the part of the officers. If the officers themselves have not formed the habit of reading wisely, if their own literary taste is below par, or if they are indifferent in regard to this matter, and allow the books to be used carelessly, the usefulness of the library is materially lessened. Unless the officers are both able and willing to take the necessary pains to secure the desired result, the inmates are sure to form a habit of reading idly; and this debilitates and corrupts the mind for all wholesome reading. It is the obvious duty of those in authority to supply the necessary material and to stimulate and suggest, in every wise way, the best methods of reading. It is not enough to get books: they must be read, and read wisely. Food in a store will not keep us from starving. It must be properly cooked, eaten, and digested. The same is figuratively true of books and periodicals.

There is little danger of too much direction. On the contrary, it is too often true that children are taught the mechanical part of reading, and then thrown loose to take their chances amidst the multitudes of publications of to-day. Such a method stops just where assistance and guidance are most needed, and might be made invaluable. It is not strange that, under such circumstances, children frequently become the victims of the pernicious publications that are so abundant to-day.

While there is little danger of too much direction, it is well, however, to give the young readers the privilege of making their own choice within certain limitations. They should learn to choose wisely, for the time will come when they will be obliged to rely on themselves. By this means, even though the inmates are shut out from personal association with the outside world, a library of wisely selected books gives them the best of society, and yet allows them to choose their companions, while at the same time they will learn to regard books as friends, companions, and counsellors.

The taste, too, in matters of reading as well as in other matters, can be cultivated. Growth and development are as natural and unvarying in reference to literary taste as they are in anything else. By a wise selection of reading matter and direction in the use of the same the lowest taste may gradually be cultivated, elevated, and radically changed.

One of the most valuable equipments that can be given to young

people for their work in life is such a knowledge of books and their use as will enable them to go direct to these sources of correct information and opinion. This equipment can be given best to the average youth by the use of the school library, reference and other. Upon many topics taught in school, boys can thus gain much additional information that freshens and confirms their acquisitions in the school-room. Furthermore, works of fiction, travel, poetry, biography, history, etc., develop and strengthen some parts of the child's mental and moral nature that text-books cannot reach. Then, again, every one has moods,— times when he is dissatisfied with self and everything else. Happy will it be for the person if, at such times, he has learned to know the power of a good book to "knit up the ravelled sleeve of care." It is not easy to be mean directly after reading a noble and inspiring book. There is no entertainment so cheap for the inmates of industrial schools as reading, no pleasure is more innocent and more lasting. The utilities of a wisely selected library in reformatory work are as endless as they are priceless. By means of such a library the inmates may be led to read for pastime, read for the relaxation from care and the surcease of sorrow; read for information; read for inspiration and higher ideals of manhood and womanhood, of patriotism, of heroism, of love and virtue, of God and heaven. Indeed, libraries and reading-rooms may be made one of the most potent agencies in the reformation of juvenile delinquents.

No one can escape the influence of what he reads any more than he can escape the influence of the air that he breathes. Young people especially are inclined to form their opinions from the books that they read. The author whom they prefer is their most potent teacher. They look at the world through his eyes. If they read books and periodicals that are elevating in tone, pure in style, sound in reasoning, and keen in insight, their minds develop the same characteristics. If, on the contrary, they read those that recount the adventures of pirates, highwaymen, gamblers, vagabonds, and the wild behavior of dissipated men and women,— stories in which respectable home life is not depicted, but is referred to as stupid and below the ambition of a clever youth, and the heroes are either swaggering, vulgar swells or vagabonds of the lowest type,— their minds are soon weakened, their moral power debauched, and they unconsciously contract the faults and vices of the characters represented in such pernicious publications.

The story as a form of entertainment or of instruction has its appointed place, and is open to no objection; but such stories as are referred to above should not be given a place in industrial school libraries, for their baleful effects are nowhere more evident than in such institutions. Many a man has committed crime from the leavening, multiplying influence of a bad book read when a boy; and many boys and girls in industrial schools to-day can trace their downfall to the influence of the *Police Gazette*, dime novels, and similar publications. The demoralization of even a single book has made infidels, profligates, and criminals; and it is doing so to-day. On the other hands, the inspiration of a single book has made preachers, poets, authors, and statesmen. A book that starts a young person in an honorable life career is a great power for good. Many poor boys and girls, who thought they had no chance in life, have been started upon noble careers by the grand books of Smiles, Mathews, Todd, and others. Industrial school libraries should contain many such books as will wake up the latent possibilities in the inmates, inspire them with a determination to make something of themselves, and lift them to a higher plane where they breathe a purer atmosphere.

Manifestly, a wise choice of books and periodicals is of primary importance. It is really the choice of the intellectual and moral ideal that an institution holds up to its inmates. The choice should be made with great care, but with a full remembrance of the fact that there are many tastes to be supplied, and that, while these tastes can and must be raised, they must first be reached. The library should not contain bad books; but it must provide the boys and girls with the books that they want, and it must teach them to want better books. Withhold the pernicious literature and supply the good that is both interesting and wholesome, and the boys and girls will presently have a healthy appetite for it. Industrial schools, by their isolation from society, have all of the opportunity that could be desired for withholding pernicious publications from the inmates.

It is quite generally believed now that, in its development, the child passes through the same stages that the race passed through in its development. For many years, while employed in the public schools of Wisconsin, in conducting teachers' institutes, and in the State Industrial School for Boys, I have advocated that a healthy mode of reading would follow the lines of a sound education, that

the reading matter should be adapted to the ability of the readers, that the habit of reading and the taste for good literature are necessary parts of an education, and that a small library in each schoolroom is better suited for this purpose than a single large library. The thanks are due to the members of our present State Board of Control for providing the means with which to test this plan. Although the plan has been in operation less than a year at the State Industrial School for Boys, the good results have far exceeded my utmost expectations; and they are now admitted and mentioned even by officers who at first smiled at the plan. Boys who never before thought of doing such a thing may now be seen at intermission seated in some part of the grounds, reading books instead of playing or telling harmful stories or planning to escape. Every one reads unless, on account of the careless use of a book, he is for a time deprived of the privilege of drawing a book. Whenever they have finished the reading of one book, they may draw another.

This plan makes the boys more contented, more willing, and more interested in their work and in their studies. Every promotion in school gives them a new library, and this each time increases their interest in reading. In the aggregate, this plan does not require a greater number of books than would be required in a single library; but it brings the books nearer to the readers. It wisely limits their choice. It makes it easy to raise the standard of their reading as they advance in the grades; and it permits the teacher, who in most cases is best able to do so, to stimulate and guide and direct the reading of the pupils. This also connects general reading with the regular work of the school, and makes it, in reality, a part of the education of the children.

Carefully graded books for children of all departments of school are now published in great variety. Naturally, the first reading is the story. Very early in child life comes the period of a belief in fairies, and at this time the reading of fairy stories is a necessary thing. I pity the boy who has been deprived of the pleasure that comes from an intimate acquaintance with Mother Goose, Jack the Giant-killer, Blue Beard, and Cinderella. As the little reader advances in knowledge and reading ability, he should read larger stories. Get him to read Grimms' "Household Stories," Hans Andersen's "Wonder Stories," Kingsley's "Water Babies," and the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments." Next let him revel with more

modern books, such as Hawthorne's "Wonder Book" and "Tanglewood Tales" and Cox's "Tales of Ancient Greece." Then, by natural transition, you advance into the borderland which lies between the world of pure fancy and the domains of sober-hued reality. Let the children who are in this stage of development read the boys' "King Arthur," Bulfinch's "Age of Chivalry," and other mediæval romances. By thus following the order of nature and of human development, you have gradually, almost imperceptibly, brought the children out of the world of child wonder and fairyland, through the middle ground of chivalric romance, to the very borders of the domains of literature and history. In the transition from romance to history, let the children read "Ivanhoe," the "Story of Robin Hood," "The Swiss Family Robinson," and "Robinson Crusoe," without a knowledge of which they will lose one of their dearest enjoyments. Have them read, also, such unexceptionable books as "Tom Brown's School-days at Rugby," Lamb's "Tales from Shakspere," Bayard Taylor's "Boys of Other Countries," and similar books of history and travel. The readers will then be prepared for appreciating juvenile books of history and science; and these will, in turn, prepare them for the reading of the larger and stronger works in all departments of learning. "When I became a man," said Saint Paul, "I put away childish things"; and so must the manly reader learn to put away the childish habit of reading story books alone. Too many readers never get beyond this stage.

I have mentioned only a few of the world-famed books as landmarks in the course of reading that children should follow in their course of development. By unconsciously directing them to follow such a course of reading, we have done much toward the formation of their characters; and there is little danger that the bad books will ever possess any attraction for them. They will henceforth be apt to go right of their own accord, preferring the wholesome and true to any of the flashy allurements of the literary slums and grog-shops that so abound and flourish in these days. When this has been accomplished, the libraries will have served their purpose well; and they will, in truth, have been one of the most potent agencies in the reformation of juvenile delinquents.

SCHOLASTIC AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

BY MARY E. R. COBB,

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In regard to the relative importance of literary and manual training in institutions, it is assumed that something remains to be said.

The problem of institutional education seems always to have been propounded with certain premises assumed. There is a dominating idea that we have first carefully to define the moral quality of the known deviations from normal childhood, distinctly to recognize hereditary obliquities, and, above all, to seek to establish the value of correctional and punitive factors in the required product. The question how to find and use the principles and methods of education best for the average child, how to bring child nature into fine contact and true relations with outward nature, and to draw out its latent powers, is, perhaps unconsciously, relegated to the consideration of the public schools, or of all and any schools outside the institutions for dependent and unfortunate children.

Because this idea has been too common, because, in my opinion, correctional and punitive ideas have too largely colored our conclusions, I shall begin by considering the institutional child as a normal, average child. It may have suffered from abnormal conditions in its past; but nature often heals morally and mentally as well as physically by a purer atmosphere and invigorating sustenance. Truth and knowledge will largely do their work of restoration unwatched and unguided by us. Let us, then, lay aside every impression and prejudice which may prevent the full acceptance of the idea of training dependent, offending, and even offensive children on the same principles as are found best for other children. Thus we shall at least do less harm than by the opposite course.

Colonel Parker has said, "A bad child does not exist." Eliminating the questions of heredity, of offences of lack of comprehension, or even of respect for society, and also the social neglect so largely accountable for these, we find our question simplified, though in a sense broadened. But, having established a common ground, or at least conceded the similarity of needs in the education of all children everywhere, we may briefly consider some lines of possible

divergence as to the value of the ordinary literary studies in the institutions. There is usually past neglect to atone for as well as future demands to provide for, and what is done must be done in a comparatively brief period. So, more strenuously than in other schools perhaps, "scholastic" studies should be subjected to two tests: —

1. Will the proposed study awaken and strengthen the dormant mental and moral powers? Will it help to make of the undeveloped human being what he or she was designed to be?

2. Will it help to prepare him or her for usefulness and self-support by better mastery of a manual art or industrial pursuit?

For the first purpose we may safely assume as proper studies not only reading and writing (as a means of communication), but nature study, a general view of geography, language, and the principles of computation, and some knowledge of human endeavor and achievement in the lines of heroism, adventure, discovery, invention, and leadership in social and national affairs.

For the second purpose must be added such scientific principles and fundamental knowledge as are necessary for even the average workman or work-woman in mechanical lines.

This may seem to claim much for the books and the "scholastic" studies, but I do not see how we can require less. Our schools once gave only the three R's. But, if we gave only this now, we should starve the children, and put them at a disadvantage in the struggle for life. We must teach many other things; and the teachers must stimulate and build up minds, not dwarf them. Education, once so simple, has become complicated.

The institutional literary school-rooms should be an integral part of the general work, that of education. The only claim to existence that an institution for the young can make is that it is of an educational character. The superintendence, both scholastic and industrial, should be vested in one person, chosen not only as able to do, but as able to inspire good work. Boards of managers and directors need, perhaps, to learn to value more highly strong personality and successful leadership, and carefully to guard their schools from the interference of the one member (at least) of every board who habitually assumes that the best way to do things is some other way.

After all, it is the trained direction, and the training of the edu-

cators, rather than the lines of teaching or the text-books, whom we should consider in this connection. The heads of institutions and the heads of their departments need to be *artists*,— original workers and students (as distinguished from mere artisans or copyists); for their work is all on lines demanding artistic skill. There are artisan workers, men and women simply doing what they have been taught to do or have seen done, in all the professions,— artisan lawyers, artisan doctors, and even artisan preachers; but, as a distinguished educator has said, "the worst of all artisans on artistic lines are artisan teachers."

The highest grades of organizers and teachers build rather on the child character discovered, on the contact of minds, on the natural love of knowledge, on the eager interest in useful arts and human affairs, rightly presented, than on any text-books, any system of marking, any stimulus offered to gain rewards, prizes, promotions, or high averages.

With an intelligent man or woman training our boys and girls for future citizenship, there can be no conflict between scholarship and manual pursuits: each aids the other, each is comparatively helpless without the other. Knowledge is not the end of schooling, but only a means to right development. The ability to express is the true test of acquisition; but expression cannot be confined to words, but must speak in acts, in influence, in being. Knowledge that does not form good character is but a means to wrong development.

What are the essentials of the ideal institutional school, in both literary and industrial work?

As preliminary, *physical health*. Defects of sight and hearing often give pupils a reputation for dulness and obstinacy. Pain and discomfort produce peevishness and inattention in the best children, under the best teachers, and with most attractive lessons. The first duty to a sickly child is to cure it.

The ideal school is *honest*. Conscience must be cultivated. No one can trust an uneducated conscience, and there is no true power without trustworthiness. Without a recognition of integrity within, on the side of both teacher and learner, no pupil can gain useful knowledge.

The ideal school is *industrious*. It teaches thrift and economy,— duty to family, to fellow-beings, to employers, to government. It works with hands as well as brain, in shops and work-rooms as well

as with books; and gain on one hand is measured by gain on the other. It suits the literary lesson to the manual needs, and claims and demonstrates the gain from book lessons by the added skill of hand and eye.

There is *liberty* in the ideal school. Mental processes are natural and spontaneous. Memorizing without knowledge disappears. The rights of the children to individuality in methods and workmanship are recognized, and their expression encouraged. There is much tyranny over children in many school usages, as well as in many (otherwise excellent) homes.

The ideal school has *high aims*, and understands that it *assumes responsibilities*. Its children are taught what the State is, what it does for them, the worth of law and order, the sacredness of promises and contracts, respect for themselves and their rights and for others and their rights, respect for toil and toilers everywhere. Notably, these things should be taught in institutions whose inmates are often ignorant of such views of public and private duty as the world needs. The teacher who would aid in true character development, adjusted to life's requirements, must have within his own heart the essence of all that is highest and purest in religious truth, as well as that which is strongest in intellectual processes.

Only this ideal institution has the assurance of true success. It will surely see as its outcome such development as prompts its pupil to give out for others the best that is in him. It will be the creation of true citizens; it will witness the formation of characters of trust, which, having developed capacity to work for the world, recognize their duty to all about them. No school does its full duty where such results are not the rule instead of the exception.

"Is this ideal practicable?" What is theoretically correct must be, sooner or later, of practical utility. When it shall prevail may depend upon us. "Mere theory" is too often our cry, when we are too indolent or too selfish to work out a practical solution of duty's problem. It is often a question of originality in the worker; and a true artist in philanthropy and in instruction not only does true work, but brings inspiration to fellow-workers, who else had been mere wage-earners.

The institutions we represent should be a most valuable portion of the educational equipment of the State, not only providing temporary home influences, teaching industrial occupations, and stimu-

lating to the exercise of the virtues of good citizenship, but striking out boldly into the newer fields of investigation and research in the social structure, on lines which focus around and within our work. The demand for an advance must be met.

The most striking feature of the day is the development of new material forces. There seems to be no end to it: any day we may expect something new that will revolutionize the world. But we are slow to see that in moral ways possibly the same may be true. May we not wisely reflect that, as the earth and air are stored with undeveloped forces, so the moral world may have lodged within it energies not yet realized or defined? As in the realm of material invention every day sees fresh development and new combinations, — not created, but discovered,— is it not possible that in the social world some elemental truths will yet be brought into stronger, more potent forms, or enter new combinations with existing forces? Thus we may yet witness or, better, assist in bringing about results which will grandly revolutionize our inert, slow-moving processes, and bring quickly the day when the nations shall walk in the light.

THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT:

THE CAUSES THAT PRODUCE HIM; THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN METHODS FOR HIS REFORMATION.

ABSTRACT OF PAPER BY G. W. GOLER, M.D., ROCHESTER, N.Y.

In this paper it is proposed to outline some of the more modern facts and theories relating to the production and reformation of juvenile offenders.

In an examination of nearly 10,000 delinquents committed to the Western New York institution between 1849 and 1895, the imperfect and incomplete records show that of 8,862 boys, 4,618, nearly 50 per cent., had lost one or both parents by disease, divorce, separation, or desertion; of girls, 790 in all, 521, or 63 per cent., had lost one or both parents under like conditions. These statistics are

very imperfect, and it is believed that the actual figures are far higher.

If we could penetrate farther into the home life of our delinquent classes, we should see that both the nature and the nurture of boy and girl are badly defective in nearly all cases. The large parental death and disease rate, the unsanitary surroundings and deficient education, are together evidences of the terrible condition which as yet we have done nothing to ameliorate. The effect of diseased, neurotic, pauper, and criminal parentage, together with the environment that such conditions usually produce, make it exceptional for such boy or girl to rise when his or her surroundings remain the same. And if parental characteristics are inherited, permanent, or acquired, one or both, it follows that where the environment persists, the heredity is usually perpetuated; where the environment changes, the heredity is apt to be altered. Change the environment, provide the adequate education and training, and heredity will be a small factor in approaching this otherwise difficult problem.

One of the prominent causes that tend to produce the delinquent child is alcoholism in the parent. The child of alcoholic parents adds to a poor heritage, defective environment, poor education, and no training.

The studies of Baer, in Vienna, lead him to this belief: —

Misuse of alcohol means poverty and pauperism, which are the main sources of crime. The injury of drunkenness to family life cannot be reckoned. But daily experience teaches that nothing disturbs the family life so much: the boys fall into idleness, slothfulness, and finally into crime; the girls become the booty of prostitution.

Of the effect of alcoholism on heredity, L. Grenier (Paris, 1887) says: —

The indelible effects produced by heredity are not to be remedied. Alcoholic descendants are often inferior beings, a notable proportion coming under the categories of idiots, imbeciles, and debilitated. Those with hereditary alcoholism show a tendency to excess; half of them become alcoholics. A large number of cases of neurosis have their cause in alcoholic antecedents. The larger part of the sons of alcoholics have convulsions in early infancy. Epilepsy is almost characteristic of the alcoholism of parents when it is not a reproduction in them, or when it is not an index of a nervous disposition in the whole family.

Appealing again to statistics we find among those committed to our own institution during forty-six years 9,075 boys with 2,560, or 28 per cent., of intemperate parentage; and of 790 girls, 252, or 32 per cent., of intemperate parentage. These percentages are undoubtedly very low. Dugdale found that 51 per cent. of the refuge boys examined were of intemperate parentage, and 51 per cent. of habitual drunkards. Of the 233 older prisoners he examined, 22 per cent. had been "refuge boys," and of the whole number, 49, or 23 per cent., came from neurotic stock, or nearly one in four.

The effects of disease are hardly less pronounced, but statistics are wanting to prove the truth of this statement.

It is rare for disease to be inherited, with the exception of syphilis and in some cases consumption. Rather is it the environment of the child born of diseased parents, who, while having a body free from the disease, still inherits from his parents in one or both lines of descent a vice of constitution that inclines him toward the disease itself, or make him prone to disease or disturbance of equilibrium in the nervous system. In other words, it is the inherited constitution of his ancestors — themselves diseased because of a lowered power of resistance — that makes the offspring liable to disease. Take that wide-spread disease, tuberculosis, for instance: the child, if the parents have tuberculosis, lives in an atmosphere laden with the living cause of the disease; and it is thus, with its inheritance of diminished resistance, more liable to contract the disease. In cases of tuberculosis in all walks of life the disease most often tends to slowly develop, and it may become latent for a long time, manifesting itself not as true tuberculosis, but mainly in disturbances of the organism manifested by disturbances of various organs and systems, chiefly of the nervous system, or it may suddenly break out as the individual's resisting power is reduced from environment.

Nocard's recent experiments on cattle in France show in thousands of cases the effect of environment and heredity in diminishing tuberculosis. He was able to take the young of parent cattle having pronounced tuberculosis, remove them from a tubercular environment and raise healthy cattle.

The effects of tuberculosis in producing the delinquent are these: First, if the delinquent is born of tuberculous parents, he usually inherits not the disease, but a diminished resisting power to the

disease which makes him liable to contract the disease. If he does not contract the disease, his diminished resisting power and bad environment provoke a greater or less disturbance of the organisms less capable of performing their normal functions.

The individual having tuberculosis, latent or otherwise, is constantly being irritated by a poison generated within his own body; or if he only inherits a tendency to the disease and keeps to his bad environment, he possesses in a vice of constitution that which places him below the average of perfect individuals. What has been said of tuberculosis holds good in a less degree for syphilis, still somewhat less for gonorrhœa, but they are well nigh equally wide-spread with consumption.

Tuberculosis, syphilis, and gonorrhœa are our most wide-spread and fatal diseases, they and their sequelæ, together with inebriety, giving rise to more misery than any other diseases we know, and causing together more than one-fourth of all deaths in this country.

Various diseases of childhood, the eruptive fevers, especially scarlet fever, diphtheria, the severer forms, diseases of the nervous system including meningitis, epilepsy, St. Vitus's dance, the different kinds of paralysis either of cerebral or spinal origin,— any of these diseases may, often do, seriously interfere with the development of the most delicate system, the nervous system, upon whose regular adjustment depends the well-ordered maintenance of the body it controls. Just how great the influences of these diseases, the effect of which is to produce either death of the whole body or the death of large numbers of cells in the part it attacks, together with corresponding alterations of functions and disturbances of nutrition in the neighboring parts, we do not know.

With the various disturbances that take place in the nervous system either as a direct result of a primary disease or as the sequelæ of such disease,— *e. g.*, deafness from scarlet fever, paralysis from diphtheria,— there may occur along with the objective evidence of disease certain subjective symptoms. These often appear as slight or even great derangements of the sense organs, or they may make themselves manifest as a general functional disturbance of the central nervous system, made apparent in a lowered resistance of the nervous system, resulting in a lowered resistance of the body it governs, in defective or diminished sensibility, poor memory, disorders of attention, and diminished power for willing and doing.

In the class with which we are dealing, we find chiefest, among many obstacles, disturbances of attention and of the will.

To develop will, which is the power of choosing, the child must have an average heredity, good environment, education, and training. And how many children whose parents are in good circumstances in life have, from earliest infancy into youth, all of those necessities? With heredity the average man has but little to do: he but follows the impulse of his fancy.

Have the parents ever seriously considered the responsibilities of maternity? Do they know even the most general laws governing this condition? Do they know, among other things, that when the child is born into this world, a most helpless, dependent being, sense-blind, that its senses begin almost immediately to unfold, and that along with its sense-unfolding come ideas, gradually enlarging with the growth of the child? At first interested in its food alone, as its senses awaken, through them it begins to develop perceptions, ideas, and the germ of a future will. And it manifests its little will in bawling tones, and the household becomes its slave. But as the child grows, its arbitrary willing and doing become a burden. What was urged and tolerated in the infant is discouraged and becomes intolerable in the older child; and it is punished for naughtiness and disobedience by the parents who early taught it to disobey. So the child's training is begun, and so it is often carried on in most cases; for it is said that it is time enough to begin when he becomes older, or, when he becomes older he will outgrow these things. Often he does outgrow these early impressions; but, if so, he does it at a fearful expense of time and labor, as all can testify who have had to unlearn in after years the training of childhood and youth. Early impressions upon the growing mind are not easily effaced.

When school time comes the child is sent to school,—good, bad, or indifferent, the average parent is not capable of determining. The training of the child, physical, mental, and moral, has not been studied by the parents at all. There is ample literature upon this important subject, but few read or heed its teaching. Concerning our educational methods, or want of methods, as Herbert Spencer wrote more than thirty years ago:—

If, by some strange chance, not a vestige of us descended to the remote future save a pile of our school-books or some college examination papers, we may imagine how puzzled an antiquary of the

period would be on finding in them no indication that the learners were ever likely to be parents. "This must have been the *curriculum* for their celibates," we may fancy him concluding. "I perceive here an elaborate preparation for many things, especially for reading the books of extinct nations and of co-existing nations (from which, indeed, it seems clear that these people had very little worth reading in their own tongue); but I find no reference whatever to the bringing up of children. They could not have been so absurd as to omit all training for this gravest of responsibilities. Evidently, then, this was the school course of one of their monastic orders."

If parents possessing a fair intelligence and a fair income are unable to provide better means of education and training than are given to their children in most cases, what are we to expect from the effects of bad heredity, bad environment, bad education, upon the children of the very poor?

I have consulted the records of our Western New York institution from its beginning in 1849 to 1895, forty-six years, and have tabulated such statistics (see pp. 358, 359) as I was able to gather from the poorly kept records with relation to family, casualties by death, disease, separation, and intemperance; with relation to the inmates, the offences for which they were committed, the number of their previous arrests, the number affected by disease, and the number that are known to have become good or bad.

For the great class of delinquent children, numbering now in the United States in the neighborhood of 100,000, certain institutions were early set apart, so that children and youth guilty of crimes requiring their commitment to penal institutions might be separated from older offenders. These institutions were generally known as "houses of refuge." In the refuge of early date, and in some of them of recent times, prison and penitentiary methods were used, and are still in use. The youth was confined at contract labor. Only the most meagre educational advantages were afforded him. His superior officer's chief thought was the amount of money to be gained from his labor, and the showing it would make on the books. When boys entered the institution, no matter what they had been committed for, they received the same treatment, and, according as they were big or little, the same classification. So into two great divisions the boy was herded with several hundred other boys, without respect to their power for good or bad, and without regard to want of training.

BOYS.

Years.	Offences.										
	Larceny.	Burglary and Robbery.	Vagrancy.	Disorderly	Truancy.	Assault.	Arson.	Rape.	Train-wrecking.	Word.	Total.
49–59	738	200	167	27	9	5	7	5	0	2	1,057
59–69	1,463	172	122	50	2	28	12	5	0	2	1,854
69–79	1,657	129	120	9	0	16	7	5	0	2	1,945
79–89	1,537	87	409	50	45	43	2	2	5	1	2,181
89–95	1,013	120	538	126	72	53	2	5	4	1	1,879
	6,408	708	1,356	262	128	144	30	22	9	8	9,075

BOYS.— *Continued.*

Years.	Dead.			Stepfather.	Separated.	Total and %.	Intemperance.				Inmate.			
	Father.	Mother.	Both.				Father.	Mother.	Both.	Total and %.	Previous Arrest.	Good.	Bad.	Don't know.
49–59	199	122	126	113	53	112 67%	307	7	29		164	117†	72†	868
59–69	281	138	142	204	98	996 53%	261	13	20	294 15%	102	44†	97†	1,713
69–79	386	114	144	186	168	1,168 60%	332	13	28	474 24%	427	34†	252†	1,659
79–89	271	146	143	158	214	986 45%	601	9	8	618 29%	683	17†	431†	1,733
89–95	171	156	113	93	115	991 52%	821	22	19	992 52%	469	980	347	552
	1,308	676		754	648		2,322	64	174	992 52%	1,845			
	Total 618 = 50%						Total 2,560 = 28%				20%	† Imperfect.		

GIRLS.

Years.	Offences.					Dead.						Total and %.
	Larceny.	Vagrancy.	Truancy and Disobedience.	Prostitution.	Total.	Father.	Mother.	Both.	Stepfather.	Stepmother.	Separated.	
79–89	167	127	28	93	315	34	39	50	57	25	42	247 78%
89–95	119	161	104	91	475	33	51	28	40	43	79	274 57%
	286	288	132	184	790	67	90	78	97	68	121	
						Total 471 = 63%						

GIRLS.— *Continued.*

Years.	Intemperance.				Disease of Parents.		Disease of Child.				Results.			Parents in Prison.
	Father.	Mother.	Both.	Total and %.	Insane.	Consumption.	Syphilis.	Venereal Disease.	New Disease.	Consumption.	Good.	Bad.	Don't know.	
79–89	61	11	11	83 26%	4% 14	3% 10	10% 32	13% 41	3% 9	13% 42	24% 88	38% 111	36%	13% 42
89–95	128	25	16	169 33%	4% 21	7% 38	17	3% 27	3% 18	2% 10	176	91	207	10% 51
	189	36	27		35	48	49	68	27	52				
	Total 252 = 31%				Total 83 = 10%		Total 196 = 24%							

When bedtime came he was taken to a large cell hall, for decency's sake called a dormitory: in each hall from a hundred and fifty to two hundred narrow cells, 5 x 8 x 6 feet, tier on tier, with a single barred slit in one wall, called a window, and in the other a grated iron door fitted with a padlock or a brake. To such a cell, whether used to a bed at home or a shakedown in a dry-goods box, this boy was taken. Behind the bars of his prison cell the boy often gave way to his feelings in an agony of remorse or fear; and thus, among the shouted taunts of his companions, he fell asleep. In the morning, awakened by the bell, he hurried on his clothes, unless he had followed a general custom of sleeping in them, and, amid disorder, formed in line outside his cell. With the earthenware utensil used to receive excrement at night, he marched, in a slovenly line, to the slop sink and back, when he formed in line again for breakfast, down to the bath rooms, where he washed or not as he pleased, and wiped upon roller towels used in common, by which nastiness and disease were often communicated from one to another. He went to the dining-room,— a great long, low, dull, dirty room, in which, before greasy tables without cloths, or, when with them, food-stained, ragged, and dirty, he sat upon greasy chairs to partake of his food. The food was usually sufficient in quantity, often bad in quality, and prepared and served as if it were food for swine or fowl. As it was cooked and served, so it was eaten.

Unless assigned to permanent kitchen vassalage, washing dishes, sweeping, making beds, scrubbing floors, or other duties that pertain to the care of the institution, he was taken to a shop, and there taught to cane chairs, make shoes or clothes, under the joint watchfulness of an overseer for the institution and an overseer for the contractor. By these men he was assigned to a task; and woe be unto him if he did not soon learn to complete it. If a good boy, he tried to do his best. Perhaps some envious fellow-inmate, whose feelings had been deadened by much institutionizing, sought to place obstacles in his way, so that the boy who set out with a determination to do his best soon found his way beset by hindrances that his untrained faculties had not the power to overcome. Thus, if he were not a rare boy, he soon found himself "pegged," or on the overseer's list, to go to the finishing room, where the strap man came around at the appointed hour each day. The boy was thus placed between the frying-pan of hard labor and the fire of severe corporal punish-

ment. Upon the yard at play he met with the same opposition, and was assailed upon all sides, until, unless a most exceptional boy or a dullard, he, in despair, added one more to the ranks of his tormentors, and became either a covert or open schemer against the government of the institution.

When work was slack or wanting, long hours of idleness were his in which to morally degrade himself and his fellows, and to plan all kinds of villany.

In school he fared no better. The rote system of teaching, then in vogue, did not attract his limited powers of attention. But, suppose this boy to have conducted himself in such a manner as to entitle him to discharge, was he immediately discharged? Not always. If he had friends he was sent to them; if not, he was often retained among his associates within the institution for months, even years. One by one he saw his fellow inmates go, but for him there seemed no chance of release. Few books or papers were provided for him. There was a library from which he could get a book now and then; but the books were few, and they were not well selected. On Sundays a file of good-boy papers were provided, which were enjoyed. But the literary food most sought for then and now was contained in the telegraphic or local column of the great dailies.

One of the mottoes on the walls of this institution reads, "Cleanliness is next to Godliness." The boys had one shirt a week and one towel; their trousers were not washed very often, and, as literature was scarce in the institution, waste paper was also scarce. Once a week the boys bathed. A large tub 18 x 18 x 5 feet (less than three feet of water) was filled with water, and in this tub eighty to one hundred boys were bathed. They got into the tub, soaped themselves well, and then one of the overseers, under whose direction they bathed, would shout, "Altogether! Down you go!" And they all went under the water. When this manœuvre had been repeated two or three times, the boys got out and another set of boys got into *the same water*. So much for cleanliness in its relation to godliness in the old institution. When the boy left the old institution he went without feeling that the parole agents were behind him to aid and encourage him, and to bring him back within its gates if he behaved badly.

I do not know how the officers were selected or appointed, but I do know that of one set of men, more than 50 per cent. were dis-

charged for cruelty, misconduct, drunkenness, and gross immorality with the boys. Yet the institution was called a reformatory. But it did not even leave the boys intrusted to its care in as good condition as when they were received. It forced them to bow under the lash, under long confinement in dark cells on bread and water, and other punishments. It did not teach them to obey. By herding boys of all ages, sizes, and impressionability into two great divisions, it taught vice alike to the innocent and to the vile. It did not seek to provide occupation alike for hand and brain; but it taught a trade or part of a trade in which the boy did not find that mental interest and employment that should serve to keep his mind from vicious thoughts, that should train him to higher and better things. The old institution marred the boy. It did not make him.

To the old institution we owe it that refuge boys at one time furnished a little less than one-fourth of the prison population and 29 per cent. of the habitual criminals in prisons. Quoting from the examination by Dugdale of two former "refuge boys," then in prison, we have it that among the prisoners to have been a refuge boy was a stigma upon a prisoner.

The boys say: "I never learned a thing in my life in prison to benefit me outside. The house of refuge is the worst place a boy could be sent to." "Why so?" "Boys are worse than men. I believe boys know more mischief than men. In the house of refuge I learned to sneak-thief, shop-lift, pick pockets, and open a lock." "How did you get the opportunity to learn all this?" "There's plenty of chance. They learn it from each other when at play." "But when you are at play you are otherwise occupied?" "Boys don't always want to play, and they sit off in a corner, and they get it" (criminal training). This man confessed to thirty arrests besides his sixteen convictions, and on the books of the prison is registered, "Second offence." Another boy, after he had answered my questions, asked, "Please, sir, may I ask you a question?" "Certainly." "Why do they send boys to the house of refuge?" "I suppose it is to teach them to be better boys." "That's a great mistake, for they get worse." "How should that be?" "I wouldn't be here, only I was sent to the refuge." "What did you learn there that should have caused you to be sent here [Sing Sing]?" "I didn't know how to pick pockets before I went, and I didn't know no fences; that's where you sell what you steal, you

know." "Yes, I know. How many fences did you learn of?" "Three." "What else did you learn in the way of thieving?" "I learned how to put up a job in burglary." During the cross-examination, when he was asked if he had learned a trade, he replied: "No, sir, only a branch of a trade." The answer was quite uncommon, so I asked why it happened. "That was in the refuge. They never learn you a trade. They learn you a branch of a trade, and keep you at it while you stay there." These statements may be exaggerations, but they certainly have great ground of probability.

But the old institution could not always remain as it was; and when it began to improve, great strides were made in its conduct within a few years. From a prison for boys it gradually began to be a reformatory in deed. First, corporal punishment and the dark cell were restricted, but not wholly wiped out. An imperfect military organization began to grow up under the leadership of one to whom great credit is due for beginning the work.* Various other improvements began to take form, including an attempted classification and a more thorough means of separation of the boys. But the greatest feature of the change, the most ennobling for the boy, officer, and teacher alike, was the introduction of manual training into the school, together with a reorganization of the common-school system upon a nineteenth-century basis. When the boy had tools and a carpenter's bench, anvil, forge, hammer, and tongs, stone, mortar, and trowel, or any of the tools of the artisan, or, if a little fellow, was provided with clay and a modelling board, a sense of freedom in thraldom began to enter his mind; for he began to see in the work of his own hands a varying creation that was his own,—not the part of a shoe or the sleeve of a garment, but something that he had fashioned out of crude material; and as each piece of work differed from the other, new interest came and new ideas developed. His dull perceptions began to awaken, and some of the bad things he had intended to do were forgotten. He had been furnished occupation for his mind through his hands.

With the beginning of manual training at the bench, the boy began to learn mechanical drawing, and to see that the things he did had to be planned, and that in their planning he had a part; that if he would do his part well, he must learn not only to do his work, but the reason why it was done. He began to be a better

* Ex-assistant superintendent, I. T. Moulthrop.

boy in spite of himself. As he and his fellows grew better, the discipline of the institution grew better, and the severer forms of punishment were gradually abated, until corporal punishment and the dark cell were entirely wiped out, never to return.

Coincident with the introduction of manual training, a reorganization of the common schools took place. A system of education based upon newer and better ideas, with teachers who strove to become specialists in their work, was introduced in place of the old plan of rote learning. A series of nature studies designed to teach the principles of biology by the laboratory method are carried out in an especially equipped department. These are supplemented by weekly illustrated popular lectures on physics, zoölogy, and geology. Cells were removed and open dormitories, with attached retiring conveniences substituted, with a good effect upon the self-inflicted abuses inseparable from the old cell system. A bath-room with shower and plunge has been provided. Food better in quality, cooked better and served better, is provided for the boys in clean, neatly painted dining-rooms. In the dining-room he sits before a table with a clean cloth and clean dishes, and is taught the most important table manners.

From his dormitory to the bath-room, from thence to the dining-room, to shop or school, he does not march in a slovenly line, with shoulders bent and scraping feet as of old, for the germ of a military system of former years has developed into a complete organization. Under the guidance of a chief long trained in the regular service, every movement of a squad of boys is carried out according to military rule. Military movement and military discipline, coupled with calisthenics or setting up exercises of the regular army, soon served to raise the stooping head and shoulders, quicken and render precise movements of the feet, so that a brisk, springy walk is substituted for the old shuffling gait. The military companies are officered by boys whose advancement in school, shop, and conduct, has entitled them to such position.

Idleness is no longer enforced by failure of a contractor to supply work. Corporal punishment abolished, correction is administered by a special department in the institution and is carried out according to military rule, either by confinement in the guard-house or by drill in the punishment squad. There is no longer any badge system. The boy is paroled upon recommendation of the superintend-

ent and chiefs of departments to the parole committee of the managers. When the boy leaves the school he feels that he will be watched over by the officers, especially the chaplains and parole agents, who will, so long as he is under age, require to hear good and regular reports from him wherever he may be, and will help him to lead an honest, industrious life, and bring him back to the school if he fails. The boy without home or friends is not hopelessly kept in the institution for months and years; but occupation is found for him at a trade or part of a trade he has learned in the house. Incompetents and dullards are placed at farm or other work within their limited power to perform.

In these and many other ways the attitude of the institution toward the boy is one of watchful care and encouragement, be he within or without its gates.

It is by no means a perfect institution. It still has many imperfections, and as some of these imperfections apply to most institutions, it is fitting that they should be mentioned in closing this paper. It is most important that there should be in general a higher class of men appointed to our reformatories, a class of men who themselves have been prepared by education and training for work among boys. I do not refer alone to the chief officers of an institution, but to the subordinate officers with whom the boys come into daily and hourly contact, and from whom they gain precepts and examples. The obstacles to securing a better class of men are the long hours, arduous labor, want of diversion within the institution for their leisure time, and remuneration little above that of a common laborer. If our legislators should see fit to increase the appropriations for boys' reformatory institutions so as to allow a higher class of men to fit themselves and apply for such places, we should soon have in our reform schools a larger number of men whose examples our delinquent youth might imitate with greater benefit. Not that I would belittle the efforts of many earnest and cultured men and women who now and in the past have sacrificed the best years of their lives to institution work. Too high a tribute cannot be paid to such as these; but I believe that the teachings of modern science should be more thoroughly utilized in conducting the institution of to-day. Men and women of superior training that are yearly being turned out by our preparatory schools, colleges, and universities, might be induced to take up reformatory work as

a special field if there were attached to such positions at first even the pay of higher grade teachers in our common grammar schools. Our reformatory institutions would thus soon become transformed into schools of scientific pedagogy, where the boy would be studied both individually and collectively. Statistics worthy of the name, which are so wanting and in which the Elmira Reformatory has been a pioneer, would be recorded. A plan needs to be put in operation, based upon the schedule used by Dugdale in his examinations, and which should include among other things complete physical measurements of head and body, together with a series of photographs, including full front and both sides of the face, mouth, nose, and ears, and so far as ascertainable the heredity, including diseases in direct line as far back as the grandfather on both sides; a complete examination of the senses,— vision, hearing, touch, smell, taste. The motor activities should be measured by physical apparatus of the latest design; a careful enumeration of all the asymmetries, deformities, and departures from the normal should be recorded. Such examinations we have attempted to introduce in the State Industrial School, but our State authorities have not as yet allowed us the necessary expenditure of $300 to carry them out. The value of such examinations in determining what the boy is cannot be over-estimated. If, as has been said, "the senses are the only gates by which the world enters the mind of man," then let us examine those gates and see if they are open or only ajar. The boy becomes valuable as a citizen, as his sense apparatus is perfectly or imperfectly developed. He comes to us to be educated. Education is but the development of the mind through the senses. We undertake his education without knowing anything about the faculties of the individual boy. By such method of examination the dullard could be weeded out and placed under kindergarten instruction and at farm training or other handicraft that would not overstrain his power of choosing. The abnormally vicious, who after long and patient trial under mild restraint cannot conform to the rules of a juvenile reformatory, could be separated and confined in other institutions where restraint and discipline are more severe.

The modern institution should have for its object the all-around development of the delinquent, physical, mental, and moral. The delinquent comes to the institution gates often laden with a heritage of vice, disease, inebriety, or all three; and one or all of these have

been in the main the surroundings of his childhood. He is thus the child of misfortune, and he is to be pitied more than punished. His opportunities in life are few; his main chance is the all-around development of the new reformatory where reform means that education, "the main object of which is to eradicate or at least modify or correct unfavorable tendencies in mind, will, and body."

XIV.

The Merit System.

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

BY PHILIP C. GARRETT, CHAIRMAN.

Definition.

In reporting upon the merit system in public institutions it behooves us first to define the term. Without definition, and were it not for a well recognized, conventional use of the phrase, it might be supposed to refer to the system of promotion or degradation of the inmates of institutions according to merit or demerit by a series of marks and balances, such as are used in reform schools and intermediate reformatories like Morganza and Elmira. Its antithesis, the "spoils system," is better understood and a more familiar term. Neither, however, is descriptive unless enlarged upon or defined. The merit system, then, is the system by which appointments are made to position on account of the fitness or merit of the appointee. A perfectly verdant and innocent possessor of common sense would naturally say, "That is of course. On what other principle would you appoint a person?" There is, unfortunately, a well established method of appointment by which the leaders of a political party coming into power demand and secure the appointment to all places not only within their gift, but within their reach, of persons to whom they personally, or their party, have been indebted for success without the slightest reference to fitness for the duties of the position to be filled. And this is known as the "spoils system."

The Spoils System Dishonest.

"To the victor belong the spoils," is a dictum derived from the barbarisms of force and war, and from a theology of revenge and

selfishness. In its application to political appointments and its unfortunate extension to philanthropies and civic positions, it is supposed to date from Andrew Jackson's time. He, at least, applied the theory extensively and scientifically to civic life, when from a general in the army he was elevated to a high civil station as president of the Republic. In its present wide application it is not too much to say that it is a wicked and treasonable robbery of the people of the nation, State, or city robbed, for the benefit of a powerful portion or faction thereof. The merit system, then, is the reactionary system by which it is thought to return to the wholesome and rational business principle of selecting all employees on account of their greatest fitness for the place to be filled. The civil service reform, often thoughtlessly called "civil service," is the name given to the movement for a return from partisan spoils appointments to selections for merit in the civil service as distinguished from the military or naval service. The movement has been a hard fought battle, contested step by step, by which the popular voice has demanded and partially secured from the partisans in Congress and State legislatures a correction of these evils and abuses of power. Although the system is an imperfect one, yet competitive examination of such persons as apply for positions is the best method yet devised of rescuing places from the more odious and indiscriminating grasp of the pure politician.

We have advisedly referred to the spoils of party as treasonable robbery, although not treason in the eye of the law. Because it stands to reason, and in fact is the well-known result, that the administration of office by partisans rewarded for campaign services, nearly always is incapable, and therefore imperfect, and wasteful, and is often unscrupulous and corrupt. The consequence is that services so performed cost the nation, State, or municipality — that is the sovereign people — millions upon millions of dollars annually, more than if performed by persons found the best fitted by skill, familiarity with their work, honesty, and fidelity, and who waste no time or thought on machine politics. These millions are the pay filched from the pockets of the entire people by the successful party-leaders and paid to the party henchmen who have lifted them into power not for principle's sake, but for the sole sake of this dishonest reward. Is it not, therefore, moral and virtual *lèse majesté* a denial of the majesty of the sovereign people? In America we have a

right to expect something better, because the theory upon which alone government by the people can endure is that the will of the majority is a safe and honest trustee of the interests of the entire people, minority included. But it is a melancholy consideration that the reform of the civil service has progressed much less in this country than in the parent country, which is yet a monarchy. To quote George W. Curtis, an apostle of the reform, "The spoils system, introduced by President Jackson, which is now stigmatized as the American system, imperils not only the purity, economy, and efficiency of the administration, but it destroys confidence in the method of popular government by party. It creates a mercenary political class, an oligarchy of stipendiaries, a bureaucracy of the worst kind which controls parties with relentless despotism, imposing upon them at the elections issues which are prescribed, not by the actual feeling and interest of the country, but solely by the necessities and profit of the oligarchy; while, to secure this advantage, party spirit, the constant and mortal peril of republics, is inflamed to the utmost.

History of the Merit System.

In the mother country the same state of things descending from feudal times existed until about the beginning of the second third of the present century. Then a demand sprung up from two opposite quarters for a rectification of the abuse. The independent portion of the people demanded, as an act of justice, that members of Parliament should not monopolize the selection of employees in the departments; and, what was more remarkable and perhaps more effectual, the higher officials declared that they *could not do the public work with such poor servants as the partisan system supplied.* Governor Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, when he was Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, himself an ardent partisan, admitted that a large part of his time was taken up with listening to applications for appointments. Thus the higher officials themselves are prevented from giving to the public service the time for which they are paid.

Reforms, including competitive examinations, were instituted in England as early as during the Melbourne Administration (1834–1841), but it was not till Lord Aberdeen was in office, in 1853, that a searching investigation and report were made by a commission consisting of Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan, and the

new system was inaugurated by their recommendation that open competitive examinations should be held to test the merits of candidates for position in the civil service. In May, 1856, in the teeth of unconcealed hostility on the part of Parliament, which stood for the prerogative of favoritism, the government, relying upon the support of the people of the country, issued an "order in council" for a Civil Service Commission that should hold examinations for all the departments. The Commission entered promptly and courageously on its duties in spite of the fact that the new system thus boldly introduced by the crown actually met with a hostile vote on its first appearance in Parliament. But so rapidly did the reform gain strength by the unmistakable demonstration of its value on a fair trial that, says Mr. Eaton in 1857, the House resolved unanimously "that the experience gained since the issuing of the order in council of May 21, 1855, is in favor of the adoption of the principle of competition as a condition of entrance to the civil service, and that the application of that principle ought to be extended in conformity with the resolution of the House agreed to on the 24th of April, 1856." "Thus," he says, "within three years from the time the merit system was presented in an official report, which was at first received by hostile parties and an indignant Parliament, it had won both the people and the legislature."

England in Advance of America.

We cite these facts to show that in England, where the abandonment of the corrupt system of partisan and unmerited appointments is much more sweeping and complete than as yet with us, it was not reached without tremendous and angry opposition from those who were deprived of their feudal privilege. But after years of trial and repeated exhaustive investigation by committees in which both parties were represented, all compromise with the evil was thrown aside, and it was resolved in 1870 that "all appointments which it may be necessary to make after the 31st of August next shall be made by reason of competitive examinations according to regulations *open to all persons*." This effete system, thus utterly condemned in the old country, is the one with which we have to deal in its worst and most wicked form, extended to the officering of penal and charitable institutions, to almshouses and jails, to insane hospitals, and

penitentiaries, whose helpless and needy inmates are entitled to every benefit which it is in the power of a community to confer. John Bright said, in reference to the reform in 1874: "The opening of our civil service has met with general approval, and after the experience of some years it would be *impossible* to go back to the old system." He adds, "No changes in persons employed in government offices, in the customs, excise, post-office, and telegraph departments, take place on a change of government, and thus we avoid a vast source of disturbance and corruption which would be opened if the contrary plan were adopted."

Patronage in Public Institutions.

To what extent our charitable and penal institutions are subject to the evils of the patronage of politicians it is hoped will be brought out somewhat by this discussion. The evils to which they might be subjected may be imagined; and history shows how likely it is that, where the result is possible, cases will occur of the very worst consequences which the fancy can picture, or reasoning predict. Any system whatever, capable of great abuses, gives rise to those abuses under a condition of public indifference, and always will. If we may draw analogies from quite different fields, the annals of American slavery and the annals of lunacy both illustrate this truism; both are filled with instances of abuse and barbarity, although neither need have been. And it will hold equally true of this unhallowed distribution of the spoils of party. The unlimited right of patronage cannot exist without abuse. If that shameless state of public opinion can be conceived which will support a thoroughly partisan governor in the removal of a medical superintendent of a hospital for the insane, well qualified for the position, because he insists on retaining the uninfluenced appointment of his subordinates, there is no remedy and there can be no properly conducted hospital. Happily, the people, once well informed, will usually, sooner or later, maintain the right, and independent men must demand the only cure; to wit, the enactment of laws requiring these appointments to be made for merit only, under competitive examinations. That these evils exist, we know enough to assert; their extent is probably greater than has been disclosed. In the great mass of literature now in print on the sub-

ject of the reform in the civil service, it is remarkable that there is scarcely a reference to the public institutions which come more or less under political control. The writers on the merit system deal almost solely with the more strictly political positions, the great State departments, the service under the Cabinet secretaries, and in the cities, the police and fire departments, and those dealing with the highways, gas, water, and common public necessities. Prisons and eleemosynary institutions seldom receive a passing notice. Perhaps this is because corruption in those quarters is not suspected; but more probably that the ordinary citizen at large is not so directly affected. We shall see, however, that his pocket is sometimes very largely interested.

Freedom from Patronage Practicable.

And yet that it is entirely possible to conduct the greater institutions without political control, we know upon very high authority, and, before citing very glaring instances of the evil, it is right to say this: Mr. Brockway, the eminent superintendent of the Elmira Reformatory, writes, "I am gratified to be able to say that notwithstanding the nearly equal division of the two great political parties in the State of New York, this reformatory has been, through the whole history of it, uninjured by partisan influences." He then refers to two attempts, at different times, to change the organization "so as to make it useful for political purposes," both of which, happily, failed, and adds, that "practically throughout the whole history of the reformatory, no shadow or taint of political partisanship has entered into its management, either in the distribution of appointments or other patronage." No evidence can be higher than that with which Mr. Brockway concludes, nor more to our point. "The good success of the reformatory is very largely attributable to the steadiness of its governmental administration, no important changes having taken place in twenty years, and to the absence of partisan influences, whether political or religious, and also to the absence of the influence of any personal considerations on the part of the managers."

Ruinous Effect of Party Patronage in an Almshouse.

Mr. Cadwalader Biddle of the Pennsylvania State Board stated definitely last year that there was no injurious work going on in his State from partisan interference with the institutions. Probably he refers only to the larger institutions of the State. Even then we fear it is rather a bold statement. It certainly could not have been said a few years ago. It was in that State that the exposure of the odious Phipps administration of the Blockley Almshouse led to the imprisonment of the superintendent and other officers of the institution; and dreadful were some of the disclosures of the investigation, as to the administration of outdoor relief and of its internal affairs; tickets for outdoor relief were given as compensation to low houses of ill-fame, and the lying-in hospital was made the resort from prurient curiosity of pot-house politicians; and this is merely specimen scum of a profoundly rotten and venal state of things. Blockley Almshouse is the principal poorhouse for the city of Philadelphia, and is an enormous concern, comprising, besides the home, a general hospital and an insane hospital. The entire number of inmates is somewhere about 4,000. At the time of the Ellis Phipps *régime*, the government of Philadelphia was tainted with corruption, and was a nest of robbers, as is shown by the reports, well substantiated, of the Reform Committee of One Hundred. Rumors had been rife concerning the almshouse, of small frauds, but it was not till this committee got to work that the gigantic iniquity was laid bare. The superintendent fled to Canada, and his flight was followed by revelations of the most sickening character, which may as well be passed with the remark that the organized and systematic attacks by certain politicians and public thieves, with the aid of a shrewd but depraved superintendent, upon the public poor fund, resulted in a shocking loss of life, and in untold suffering to those who were compelled to seek shelter under the almshouse roof and survived its terrors. Although books and accounts which had been kept at the office of the superintendent were either destroyed or concealed, prior to his hasty departure, it has been clearly demonstrated that of the $400,000 or thereabouts devoted annually by the people to support this institution, fully $150,000 of the amount was systematically stolen or misappropriated. The reign of mismanagement and abuse seemed to reach the highest point of capacity for

doing harm in 1881 and in the earlier months of 1882, when the rate of mortality exceeded fifteen per cent., a higher death rate than at any institution of like character in the country. In this connection it may be added with significance that, upon the organization of the new management, the mortality rate fell to nine per cent. This would mean a saving of 180 lives per annum on a population of 3,000. They also "secured a saving of expenditures on the first year of their administration of $80,000." These figures are, as nearly as figures can tell it, the index of the difference between the reign of politicians whose venal tools are chosen as assistants throughout, and that of business men who select their employees for merit or fitness for their respective duties.

Party Management of County Jails.

In the same State, more recently, accounts of the county jails, of which the following may be taken as a type, were written: "County jails are almost as dark and totally depraved as when John Howard first turned on the light. Old are congregated with young, men with women, the novice in crime with the case-hardened habitué of prison, the accidental criminal with the professional, the unaccountable imbecile or lunatic with the cunning volunteer in the crime class, the witness with the accused, the innocent with the guilty." The explanation given is that, in almshouses and jails, "the office of sheriff or steward in the rural counties is the one central object around which the jail or almshouse revolves. The association with these offices is sure to be political, and penology and philanthropy are far from the thoughts of citizens who elect, and officers who are elected alike." Now this State is not an exceptionally bad State, quite the reverse; the same condition of things has been reported in Ohio, which has probably the best penal code in America. Those who have not visited these politically officered institutions would be surprised to see what revolting dens of darkness remain in use as jails in enlightened States of this Union.

Further Testimony as to County Institutions.

Secretary Kellogg of the Connecticut State Board bears concurrent testimony to the above facts as regards the county institutions.

After recounting the various State institutions, describing the organization and method of appointment of their governing boards, and stating that they are generally free from partisan influences, he shows that the county jails, the two almshouses, and the temporary homes for dependent and neglected children, one of which is maintained in each county, are politically controlled, and the almshouses and county jails "suffer more than any others from partisan and favorite appointments." Of the almshouses, he says they are "under the charge of the selectmen of each town. Their appointments have been largely of a partisan nature, and they frequently change the superintendents with the change of office. In this way they have failed to secure the most suitable persons for the positions, and have prevented many keepers from acquiring the necessary experience, by a limited service in one place." Of the jails, he says, "The sheriff himself either acts as jailer, or, as is more usual, appoints a deputy jailer and under-officers. As the sheriff is chosen at a political election, his appointments naturally are usually partisan in character. As penal or reformatory institutions, they are far from successful, and their chief use seems to be in relieving society for a short time from the presence of a certain class of offenders. Their reforming influence over the inmates amounts to practically nothing." How could it, when merit forms no part of the qualification for these officials, but the only question is whether they are "Solid for Mulhooly," and will back up the boss against the world? As to this class of institutions, the same conditions are found very generally in all the States. In touching upon them we have probably touched the sorest spot.

The great institutions which occupy a large space in the public eye are not so likely to show the same indifference to good management. They cannot do it with the same impunity, being more open to criticism. If they are mismanaged, it may long remain concealed; and the same round of incompetency, extravagance or jobbery goes on year after year till at last some spark explodes the magazine, and a great scandal follows. It is comparatively seldom that investigation leads to the disclosure of jobbery as palpable and as clearly traceable to partisan patronage as in the case of the Indiana Hospital for the Insane, near Indianapolis, which was investigated by a Legislative Committee in 1887. The report of the sworn testimony taken in this case is so voluminous that it covers 1,335 printed octavo

pages. We can therefore only give a very brief résumé of the findings, which will be quite sufficient to demonstrate the need of the merit system even in State institutions. "The evidence shows that the senators and representatives who were most influential in securing the passage of (a certain act known as) the (Brown) bill, were rewarded for their services in that behalf by having their friends and relatives appointed to various positions in the Insane Hospital." After reciting by name numbers of senators who had relatives and friends appointed to positions in the institution, and showing that one Dr. Harrison labored for weeks in the interest of the bill, solely, on his own admission, because he expected to be made president of the Board of Trustees; that a Mr. Hall, an active lobbyist for the bill, became book-keeper and storekeeper for the hospital, and a Mr. Sullivan, another lobbyist in its interest, a large contractor for supplying provisions to the institution,—the report goes on to say, "We can come to no other conclusion, from the evidence before us, than that the passage of the Brown Bill was, in part, at least, a matter of bargain and sale corruptly brought about by promises and inducements on the part of Dr. Harrison and his friends, of the most reprehensible character." Dr. Harrison, whose reputation has been a very bad one, became president of the Board. The report states: "We find that the system of making appointments is as thoroughly bad as could well be devised. No examination is required. Dr. Harrison stated that he believed in a partisan management of the institution." "We find that a great many ignorant and brutal attendants have been appointed, as might well be expected from the system in vogue in their selection. We find that Mr. I. S. Hall, the chief book-keeper and storekeeper, does not keep the books, and that he wholly lacks the necessary knowledge and experience" to inspect the supplies. He "is wanting in all the essential qualifications for the office." Mr. John E. Sullivan (the lobbyist) has, in a number of instances been given the contract for butter and eggs when lower bids were on file for the same articles from more reputable produce dealers. "Over $26,000 was paid to him in twenty-five months when his goods were seldom up to contract. We find that money has been collected from the employees of the asylum for campaign purposes by Mr. Hall and other persons in authority. We find that too much interest is taken in politics, and that the hospital is run more as a political machine than anything else." Think of

that for an insane hospital! "This partisan system," the investigating committee say, "must in our opinion be charged not only with the brutal treatment of the patients, but with the thirty-five elopements, with the escape of Jonathan Allen, the uncertain fate of Mrs. Dallas, and with the death of Capt. Knorr." The report contains a mass of other statements to the same purport, and concludes with many excellent recommendations, but we can only spare space for the following, which bears directly on our inquiry: "We do not claim that the best results can be obtained, until the management of the asylum is placed in the hands of a carefully selected *non-partisan* Board of Trustees." So much for what may happen to a large State hospital under the spoils system. The conduct of its agents was little short of diabolical, and the results lamentable in the extreme.

Experience and Theory Coincide.

If the empirical test is severe upon the spoils system, it is no more than one had reason to expect, from a sociological or theoretical point of view. The system is thoroughly vicious, and the evils to be expected from it are in no adequate degree compensated, even from a selfish partisan standpoint, by the gain to a party organization. But no party organization has the slightest right to gain, because it has the power, at the expense of the party of opposite convictions. It is the cutthroat's right, it is the highwayman's prerogative alone. "Stand and deliver! my hand is on your throat." And, as despotic assumption is the curse of an autocracy, so the spoils system is the curse of a democracy. Nor will any democracy long endure, if this mercenary spoliation of the people is not arrested. It is undermining all true patriotism; for look at its effect upon legislatures, governments, and ultimately upon an apathetic community who tolerate it. The member of Congress who once submits himself to its maleficent influence comes to regard the high national duty of legislating wisely for his country as subordinate to two other obligations: the one to keep his seat in Congress, and the other to do all in his power for the machine of his party. With the former in view, his first care is to do personal favors for his constituents, friend and foe, and thus disarm opposition and strengthen his stakes. To further the other purpose, the rest of his time is devoted to demanding places under government for those

who have done dirty work for his party, or possibly clean work; but, in either case, without any reference to the special qualification of his friends for the places to be filled. His real duty, to study and assist in wise legislation, appears to be his least concern. His moral sense becomes blunted, and he is perhaps not aware that he is robbing his country just as truly as if he stole a million of bonds from the Treasury Department. This moral blindness runs through every branch of the government. The time of secretaries and assistants — none too much for their exacting duties — is consumed in listening to the appeals of Senators and Congressmen for the rewards of place. Their proper work is ill done, it becomes impossible to get through with it, and a score of otherwise needless clerks, whose salaries double or treble the expenses of the government, are saddled upon the treasury. We cannot doubt that tens of millions are wasted for the nation in the various ramifications of this vein of corruption. And, while the capillaries are not so conspicuous as the great arteries, other tens of millions are bled from the tax-payers in the thousands of petty municipal institutions scattered over the land, each one considered too small to claim much of the public attention. Let us look for a moment at the result in our *large* municipalities. The workings of the Tweed ring in New York and the Gas Trust ring in Philadelphia are tolerably familiar to everybody. It does not need to be said that in both cases a loss of millions of dollars to the tax-payers was very well established. In every large city immense expenditure is required yearly on highways, lighting, water supply, the poor, insane and criminals, and on public schools. In all of them the spoils system presents a wide field for jobbery. Take, for instance, the highways. Under strictly business management, which selects the best possible pavement, gutters, curbs and crossings, and employs only the most skilled and efficient men to do the work, both original cost, and, still more, repairs and renewals, are reduced to a minimum, breaks for the laying of sewers and gas and water pipes, underground conduits, etc., are made as seldom as possible, and instantly and perfectly mended, and the whole is done on the same basis that a private owner of good business qualities would adopt on a private place. But suppose a political leader is a maker of wooden blocks, or of vitrified bricks, or of any inferior pavement, and to obtain the contract finds it necessary to give an interest in this job, or some

other, to the legislators who order it. It may be dirt cheap, apparently, but it will soon have to be done over again. The thousands of men who should be skilled, being chosen for no knowledge of street laying, but for chicanery and trickery at the polls, receive three times as much for their labor as it is worth, and dawdle their time away. In a year the street is full of deep holes, vehicles cannot move over it at a trot, and horses, carriages, and spinal columns all share in the general breakdown. A pavement which should have lasted ten years goes to destruction in one or two, and costs from five to ten times as much as it would if built on the merit system. And so it goes, through the whole municipal list. You have poor gas, poor electricity, filthy water, leaky sewers, ill-treated poor and insane, criminals kept in schools of vice, and all at the highest cost conceivable. And simply because the people who directly do the work are there not by reason of knowing anything about it, not for their honesty, or industry, or skill, but because they have made themselves more or less important to the party bosses in power. And yet it is not regarded as an axiom that employees in public institutions should be selected for their fitness or merit.

But there are other evils about the system which makes public place the spoils of party. A large part of the peculiar usefulness of a man in any given position arises from his experience in that particular position. It requires some time for him to become familiar with the ins and outs of it, and the longer he is in it the better and more speedily he does his work. Experience counts for many talents, and duration of tenure is therefore a vital point for economy and effectiveness. But the dolorous part of spoils appointments is that they must frequently change,— must change with every change of party, if not with every change of administration, even in the same party; for the men who have been of use to one office-holder may not be the same who were of use to his predecessor, although of the same political faith. The consequence is that not only are the occupants not adapted to the work at the start, but no sooner are they thoroughly familiar with its duties, and in so far appropriate occupants, than out they go, and other utterly unprepared appointees step into their places, to begin another era of ignorance and waste.

Upon the inmates of almshouses, hospitals, and prisons under the care of such incompetents the effect may be imagined. It is,

of course, demoralizing in the extreme. The force of good example is great, in securing discipline and wholesome conduct; it is certainly salutary, and possibly more effectual than any amount of advice or regulation. Nor is the example less beneficial to habits of economy and industry. The shiftless, thriftless children of poverty, indolence, and crime who occupy our municipal institutions are peculiarly in need of the best models. The very best, almost perfect, influences should environ them. Merit of the highest order should be their constant illuminant.

But there is one more sad consequence of this deeply vicious spoils system. It implies moral *apathy* at least; and it is surely sapping the foundations of public morality. Boards of aldermen, legislatures and Congress are all becoming callous to a virtual robbing of the public purse. Unblushing corruptionists are retained in, and even returned to high position. Selfishness is taking the place of patriotism; and Benjamin Kidd's social evolution into a higher altruism seems in danger of reversal into degeneration.

Even great political doctrines, the rallying cries of party, are too often based on personal or selfish interests, which are sometimes inconsistent with the aggregate welfare; and a like disregard for justice enters into our dealings with other nations. And let us remember that any poison to public morality deadens the popular conscience, and retroacts upon that of the individuals composing the community.

Summary.

To close this report with a brief résumé of the advantages of "The Merit System in Public Institutions," we repeat, that

1. It insures competency instead of incompetency in officials at the outset.

2. It insures skill, experience, and special adaptation to the duties to be performed, in place of ignorance of those duties and special inaptitude.

3. It renders permanency of tenure probable, increasing experience and fitness with lapse of time, instead of constant change, and frequent renewal of ignorance, inexperience, and incompetence.

4. It involves economy instead of waste.

5. It renders possible a beneficent influence upon inmates, and good discipline.

6. It diminishes the probability of positive robbery and corruption.

7. It contributes to redeem a community from the demoralization of party spoils.

Conclusion.

Having thus hinted at some of its advantages, and the evils of partisan officering of institutions, we look to further discussion for a fuller development of the facts and sociological aspects of the subject.

If this report savors less of the judge's charge than of the advocate's brief, it is because, in the consideration of the subject, the logic of facts has led us irresistibly to a recognition of the beauties of the merit system compared with any substitute.

The committee were led to see clearly that merit is the correct foundation upon which to build up the personnel of any institution; and here they rest the case, content to be the advocates of that which is truly good.

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF CHARITY AND CORRECTION.

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Explanation of Terms.

The "merit system" is a mode of social rational selection to assist the rough process of natural selection to weed out the unfit, the incompetent. It is a moral invention of the age as truly as the electric motor is a mechanical, technical invention. The merit system is an intellectual relative of the steam-threshing machine! Its function is to exterminate egoistic parasites. It is offered as a substitute for the spoils system, whose chief function is to honor the lovers of themselves and the enemies of mankind, and to heap rewards and emoluments upon the treacherous and the incapable. We have many

competent and honorable public officials even under the spoils system; but that is in spite of the spoils system and not in consequence of its legitimate work. Healthy and vigorous people are sometimes found in malarious districts, but malaria did not produce health. To define the merit system is to recommend it. To define the spoils system is to damn it. Society is required by its interest and its sympathy to support defectives and delinquents in its institutions, but it is not under obligation to put defectives and delinquents in charge of its institutions as a reward for treasonable services rendered to unscrupulous politicians. The spoils system has a tendency to pick out the men who disgrace municipal politics and to reward their unclean and selfish industry with titles and salaries. The merit system aims (1) to *examine* candidates and to apply tests which exclude at one stroke a mass of impudence, greed, ignorance, and imbecility; (2) to subject the novitiates to a probation which will bolt out the bran which is left, even after chaff and weeds have been winnowed away; (3) to offer inducements to public servants to do their very best, through hope of recognition and promotion; (4) to enable them by security of tenure to give their entire and undistracted thought to the technical duties of their office, undisturbed by the hurly-burly of local politics; (5) to open the service to the poor and to the rich, to the entire people without partiality for social position, sect, or party. The spoils system tends to narrow the range of selection to a little circle of boon companions of a malodorous henchman.

The Adaptation of the Spoils System to Secure Efficiency.

Society will secure the kind of servants which it chooses to reward. The spoils system makes trickery, bribery, and cringing venality the line of least resistance and of greatest reward. The merit system smooths the highway of fidelity, industry, efficiency, and honesty. Very good men will sometimes be found to serve their country without salary, but political wire-pullers never serve God without high wages. When they discover that empty pocketbooks result from campaigns, they will be induced to seek more useful occupations. The failure of the spoils system would seem to recommend even an untried merit system as a promising field of experiment. The political history of England before the days of civil

service reform will instruct any one who desires to learn the natural fruits of a method based on selfishness and class spirit. America has tried the spoils system long enough to study the poisonous plant throughout its life, from unnoticed seed to the expansion of its noxious blossoms. The illustrations of these fruits shown in the report of the chairman of our committee set forth the character of this magnificent creation of partisanship and egoism. European experience demonstrates the economy and efficiency of the merit system and its social value in every direction. Dr. Albert Shaw gives reasons for declaring that this principle is so thoroughly accepted by all parties in Germany that if the radical social Democrats gained control to-morrow, they would not dream of changing the method of appointment. A partial trial of the merit system in America shows that our human nature is very much like the human nature of England and Germany, from which countries, by the way, much of American human nature has been directly imported. In our postal service, navy, and army the merit system has shown good fruits and won its way to the universal favor of all true patriots.

The merit system rests on the profound psychological law of the *necessity of habit in relation to progress*. The law is thus stated by a master of the science of psychology: "The function of association in the psychological life is the formation of a mechanism. It seems to connect the various elements of our mental life together by such firm bonds that they may be used as a foundation upon which to erect more complex mental structures. Habit thus (1) forms a self-executing mechanism whereby the mind apprehends readily and expeditiously those elements in its cognitive life which are regularly recurring, and adjusts itself in its actions to the permanent demands of its surroundings; and thereby (2) enables conscious intelligence to devote itself to the apprehension of variable elements, and the will to apply itself to the mastery of novel and changing acts." (Dewey's "Psychology," pp. 111–115.) The bicycle rider cannot enjoy the flying landscape until his mastery of the wheel has become automatic. Now a great part of the routine business of an institution should become part of a mechanism so that the administrative heads can give themselves to critical questions, to discovery and invention, to progressive methods. But suppose these superintendents must expend a great part of their energies upon making peace with bosses! A system of examination, probation, and merit promotion

supplies the mechanism and leaves the higher officers free for their nobler functions of research. Mr. Isaac J. Wistar speaks from experience and direct observation: "It is scarcely necessary to add that the best results are only to be had by keeping them free from party considerations and party patronage. A prison official is never done learning. The greater his observation and experience, the more his value to the Commonwealth and its prisoners. Struggles for political power through control of party patronage and spoils can have no just place in prison polity, where the temporal and eternal welfare of thousands is concerned, and where training and experience are the qualities required. In such a great semi-charitable public interest, where questions of individual temperament and character hold the first place, the introduction of selfish considerations would seem more baleful than in a school or a church, because convicts are subjected to them while under forcible restraint and because they are more concealed from public scrutiny and less accessible for popular correction. Any plan of prison management whatever must prove a moral and pecuniary failure unless all personal and selfish considerations can be absolutely and permanently excluded by effective law." ("Penal Administration in Pennsylvania," *Lippincott's Magazine*, Appendix. 1896.)

Consider the influence of the merit system on the character of the officials and the necessarily malign influence of the spoils system on the character of those subjected to its sway. Under the merit system the official of a public institution secures and retains his position by obedience to the moral law of social welfare. The examination and the probation are based on the impersonal, intellectual order of life and the world. He has devoted himself to a mastery of the knowledge and art which are essential to his success in the profession to which he aspires. If he succeeds he owes it to his own worth, to a universal principle, to science and art, not to some petty patron. Thus surgeons, nurses, watchmen, engineers, pharmacists, superintendents, turnkeys, bacteriologists, should be chosen because they are in right relation to the moral order of nature and society. When they are in office they will feel that they owe allegiance to humanity, to the great commonwealth, to science, and to their profession, not to a petty tyrant who has employed them and bound them with base promises to do the bidding of his arbitrariness and ignorance.

The merit system is demanded by our national honor before the world. We send our representatives to the International Penitentiary Congress. They tell with just pride of the Michigan system of child-saving. But they cannot boast of many of our county jails, city lock-ups, and neglected poorhouses. They are ashamed to explain to the expert public servants in the institutions of Bremen, Hamburg, and Dresden how our clerks get their places and on what dishonorable and annoying terms they keep them. But these scandals are well known in Europe; and they are often supposed to indicate a deep-seated and universal depravity among the people who can tolerate such abuses without efficient protest. The fact that we have general suffrage makes the case all the blacker for us. Who does not read with blushes of shame these deserved sentences of Lecky's recent book on Democracy and Liberty: "This [President Jackson's policy] was the beginning of a system which has spread like a leprosy over all political life, and to which there is, I believe, no adequate parallel in history. . . . This spoils system has permeated and corrupted American public life to its very roots."

Limitations of the Merit System.

Objections have been urged against this mode of appointment. It is said that we cannot have a superior public service because the character and culture of the population are so low. Candidates must come from the people, and will be near the average. But in answer to this reflection on the national character, we can certainly claim that there is no nation which can furnish a larger proportion of capable men and women; that the spoils system tends to repel the honest, and select the inferior; and that it hampers, worries, and weakens good officers after they are appointed. Under the spoils system we can never secure the best public servants. Some fear a bureaucratic class of administration officers. But a people with wit and integrity enough to create a class will know how to hold it in its place. The German bureaucrats are gentle doves compared with the Tammany Tiger.

Causes of Public Apathy.

Our country has rapidly become a land of cities without adjustment to the new conditions. Very swiftly we have passed from an

agricultural to a manufacturing and commercial régime. In a rural community the need for a specialized and expert service is but little felt. Any citizen of average intelligence can turn from his plough to perform the simple duties of a neighborhood office. It was in the earlier and less complex social conditions that the sentiment favorable to "rotation in office" arose. Perhaps hatred of alien British office-holders in the Colonial period aggravated the difficulty. Then the machine politicians have long had control of the agencies for forming traditions and customs, and the people are used to their yoke. It is also too true that the community are still willing to overlook wrongs done to the destitute and the delinquent. "Rattle his bones over the stones,— only a pauper whom nobody owns." These are causes of social apathy; but they are not good reasons, and they must disappear before enlightenment and increase of sympathy and justice.

But how shall we promote this merit system? What are we to do about it? How can we fan the cooling embers of interest into a flame of righteous zeal? The people who are most competent to formulate appeals to the public conscience and heart are in this Conference. These appeals must show in detail, with reiteration and illustration, that the spoils system is cruel and unjust; that it robs the public and hurts the poor; that it delivers slack and dirt on contracts for coal; that it leaves the helpless insane to drown, freeze, or scald under the care of incompetent attendants; that it gives over the imbecile a prey to lust in county poorhouses; that it leaves children to be taught crime under police permission and tuition; that it gives the dependent sick to butcher quacks to be practised on until they perish from malpractice; that the noblest penal legislation comes to grief under the administration of officials who are no more fit to reform offenders than a blacksmith is fit to make a watch. These appeals to the public must press the difficulty and dignity of the office of public charity and correction. Crime seems to be increasing. Pauperism is already a fearful burden. Misery needs a wise and tender hand for its healing. The most effective appeals will have local color. A most harrowing anecdote, once over the State line, is discounted fifty per cent. Even a minie ball fails to cut the skin if it has travelled too far. Duels in earnest are fought at short range. The trickiest politician can grow red in the face denouncing spoilsmen in the next county. He cries "stop thief!" to

distract attention. All honor to the brave and capable men and women in our public institutions who are true, faithful, and capable under a system which is a disgrace to our nation. Such persons deserve especial honor and regard. In many places boards and superintendents have introduced civil service rules of appointment and promotion without requirement of law and against the protest of unscrupulous political bosses; and sometimes this has caused a hard fight. But the men who secretly or openly defend the spoils system deserve no argument. They richly deserve chastisement. As Mr. Lecky says: "There is one thing which is worse than corruption. It is acquiescence in corruption." While we are fighting the battle against a wrong it does not taint us. Zero weather does not freeze those who are struggling with a snow-drift; but when they lie down on it they are in danger of sleeping the sleep of death. We cannot carry many reforms at once. And since we must select a few issues of paramount importance, let this be among the first to claim our service and our toils.

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

BY LUCY L. FLOWER.

Cook County, Illinois, is governed by a board of fifteen commissioners elected by the people. Formerly five members were elected each year to serve three years, so that the new members coming on to the board were powerless to make changes until, through one year's experience, they had learned something of the needs of the institutions and of the competency of the employees. Under this system the employees were not changed very frequently. But, at the time of the far-famed Boodle Board, the members of the citizens' committee claimed that collusions, for the purpose of fraud, existed that could not be possible if members did not hold over; and, as a result, influence was brought to bear upon the members of the legislature, and the law was changed so as to provide for the election of the whole fifteen each year. This resulted in a complete change in the management every year and the appointment of an

entirely new staff of officials throughout the county, and was so disastrous in its effects that the law was again changed two years ago, and the term made two years instead of one, though the whole fifteen are still elected at one time.

In December, 1894, a new Board of County Commissioners was elected under this new law; and within a few weeks of the organization of the board a statement appeared in the newspapers that after a long wrangle over the offices, the matter had been at last amicably adjusted by the following plan: —

A list of all the offices in the county, many hundred in number, was made, with the salaries attached to each. These were divided into fifteen parts, each containing an equal number of positions and of as nearly equal pecuniary value as possible. These fifteen lists were then put into a hat and each commissioner drew one, and was then entitled to fill the positions on his list as he chose, with only such reference to fitness as he might be pleased to consider.

So much a matter of course had the filling of all public places by political appointees irrespective of merit become, that the public statement in every Chicago paper of this hat scheme created not a ripple of astonishment and almost no comment.

The following June the kicking to death of an insane patient, a harmless and quiet man who had only been in the asylum one night, by an attendant whose previous occupation had been that of a butcher, created a public scandal that finally culminated in the appointment, by the president of the county board, of an investigating committee. This committee consisted of the members of the county board, two labor men, four persons indirectly connected with the county board, Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, and myself. Miss Addams and I consented to serve on the committee at the request of some persons interested, who desired us to be present and report if an investigation by the State Board of Charities was desirable.

On the stand, during this investigation, one of the commissioners, under oath, testified that it was perfectly true that all the positions in their gift had been filled by the hat scheme which I have just described. And to the question, "could the superintendent remove incompetent employees when thus assigned by the commissioners," he replied, "No." And to the further question, "Did not the board pass a resolution that the heads of department were empowered to remove an incompetent employee, no matter by whom appointed,"

he replied, "Oh, yes; but that was only done for outside effect, they could not really remove any one."

The investigation, which, as may readily be seen from its constitution was superficial in the extreme, developed certain facts however. First, that absolutely no attention was paid, in the appointments, to the fitness of the appointees for the places to which they were assigned, and that competent employees could only be retained by some commissioner placing them on his list of appointments. This of course was done in many instances, especially by the commissioners from country districts, whose constituents were not struggling for places, and who were not compelled to pledge all positions within their control in order to secure their election. At the head of Cook County Insane Asylum, with 1,200 patients, was a young man whose only experience in a medical way had been as an interne for a year and a half in Cook County Hospital, and who had had absolutely no experience with the insane. His assistant was a young woman of about the same experience; and these physicians testified that they had no authority whatever over the attendants, who were under the control of appointees called supervisors, ordinary and ignorant men and women who knew absolutely nothing about the proper care of the insane.

The attendants themselves were drawn from all classes,— butchers, saloon-keepers, car-drivers, etc., being among the number,— evidently the refuse of the appointments, as, pay being small and the life disagreeable, only the hardest up and lowest down on the list would take these places.

Bad as conditions were, neither Miss Addams nor I felt it advisable to call for an investigation by the State Board, for the reason that eight years before, on a similar occasion, the State Board had been called upon by the Woman's Club, and a most thorough investigation made, with the result that just the same conditions as existed last July were found to exist then. And, as nothing had been accomplished before, we felt sure nothing would be now, simply because the fault lies, not with the particular commissioners or the individual employees, but with the system; and no investigation, no arraignment of individuals, nothing will do any permanent good so long as the spoils system remains. Just as long as it is recognized as legitimate for a man to compensate individuals for personal services to himself in ward caucuses by appointments to public position, just

so long will public institutions be run, not for the benefit of the inmates, but to further personal ends; and the unfortunate poor, sick, and insane will be the victims of brutal, ignorant, and untrained officials.

One of the commissioners with whom I talked, a really well-intentioned man, voiced the usual way a commissioner looks at the matter. He said: "My friends worked for me to get this position, and it is only right I should pay them — the only way I can — by appointing them to any places I can control." This assumes that all public offices are individual spoils, in place of being public trusts; that a man is elected for his own benefit only and not to serve the public; and, as long as the general public are content to so consider all official positions, no reform is possible. It must be the work of these Conferences to arouse a public sentiment that will demand that at least all our charitable institutions shall be governed under civil service rules which will give some permanence to the employees, insuring their retention if satisfactory, and their removal if incompetent or unfaithful. At present, the manner in which the employee performs his duties is almost the last consideration which influences his appointment or retention in office.

DANGERS OF THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

BY LUCIUS B. SWIFT, INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Some years ago, the General Assembly of Indiana was the scene of a busy struggle to secure the reorganization of the benevolent institutions of the State. No demand of public business nor any condition of the institutions themselves called for the change. The attacking force was a well-organized band, a faction of the party already in possession, its object was the capture of the places. The bill became a law, and its promoters who had for weeks constituted the "third house" of the general assembly gave a dinner in celebration, and then as members of boards, superintendents, stewards, and so on, went into enjoyment of the captured spoil.

Some four years later, it fell to me to assist in an investigation of the State Hospital for the Insane at Indianapolis, made by a house committee of the general assembly. The investigation occupied three weeks.

This hospital was beautifully situated, with male and female departments in great separate buildings standing in ample and shady grounds. Its board had the disposal of about $300,000 a year. Yet in this modern environment, with ample funds which made possible the application of the most humane and enlightened principles of the nineteenth century, the place was honeycombed with mediæval notions and practices,— unsympathetic, cruel, barbarous, and corrupt. Every employee, the doctor, the ward attendant, the clerk, the carpenter, the washerwoman, must not only bear the party stamp, but must be of the faction which had captured the hospital; and so fierce was the demand for a share, that in the 350 places we found there had been 648 changes in four years. Along the same line the contracts for supplies, with few exceptions, had been let to those who had helped in the capture or who had obtained some later hold upon the board. As might have been expected, we found an untold amount of misery inflicted upon the thousand helpless inmates by this aggregation of inexperience and knavery. Not one of the employees had an incentive to do well, for the place was not secured by merit nor held by efficiency. Physical force, not infrequently assisted by blows, sometimes with the club, was the quick resort of inexperience and inefficiency, and, in cases, was carried to extreme cruelty. Contracts were made and prices were paid for the best articles: yet, through the steward's office there was an endless procession of supplies foreign to the contracts,— decayed meats, decayed butter, decayed vegetables, hogs infected with cholera, shelf-worn goods, and so on. The whirlwind had been thoroughly reaped.

This hospital was a full development. Perhaps nowhere in the country among hospitals does such a case exist to-day; but it is not certain that there may not be one to-morrow. This was a natural and legitimate outcome of the spoils system, a system which is never asleep and whose restless and unscrupulous activity has given of late years an increasing number of full fruitions. There was this hospital. There is Tammany Hall, which robbed and blackmailed the people of New York. There is the State of New York, where no law can be passed without the consent of Platt. There is Penn-

sylvania, in which free government has reached a like suspended condition under Quay. There is Senator Murphy's city of Troy, which classes Bat Shea among the saints. And wherever good government has been laid waste, the cause is always the same,— favoritism moved by a thousand motives, the spoils system with its one doctrine that every item of public transactions is to be given a twist for personal or party benefit, and practised in so many governmental functions; that every rising generation imbibes the idea that public business is not as private business; that it does not call for the same abstention from deceit and peculation, but that everything is fair in politics.

Now, it is not only true in experience, but it is true as an axiom, that the presence of favoritism in the conduct of any public business is detrimental. There is no human nature the world knows of which can stand the test of its exercise, or which can stand the test of the opportunity of its exercise. There is no public institution in whose management favoritism is an element in which progress is not retarded or is at a stand-still, and which is not in danger of a development as rank and unhappy as the Indiana hospital I have described. Now, if one says that he is an exception or that his board is an exception, that they have the power but they resist the temptation, I shall not dispute the statement, but I shall doubt their knowledge of themselves, and I shall answer that if they have this almost unknown virtue their successors in office will not have it. We find every grade of favoritism, but still it is favoritism. Where ordinary favoritism exists, the condition is not creditable but the public is used to it. At any moment, however, the developing power of a boss may send any institution so far down that the cry of misery becomes loud enough to be heard, and then the Commonwealth feels its shame and disgrace.

I do not wish, however, to confine myself to extreme dangers. Take the average State institutions, benevolent, penal or reformatory, and they do not fix the attention at all, or they fix it because of things which are disagreeable. The impression made is of commonplaceness, of mediocrity, of powerlessness to advance.

We are always in hopeless waiting either for the new set just in to become skilled, or for some turn which will get rid of the old set of incapable and worthless favorites.

If you visit a prison you find the employees working in narrow

lines. From lack of disposition or capability there is not enough of the play of honest human nature upon dishonest human nature to make it better. If you ask a warden who has been some time in place, and has become interested in his work, if there is no way to give natural manhood a better chance, he will tell you privately that the insuperable obstacle is lack of permanency in place and the foisting upon him of employees by one pull or another. He can keep the prisoners within the walls, he can keep them in order, and he can keep the cost of maintenance within a proper figure; but to carry out extensively a system based upon the possibility that the prisoner can be made better is impossible under the present method of employment. If you get into his confidence, he lays before you the full action of this method with its aggregation of pulls,—the party pull, which is the blanket mortgage over all, the party-faction pull, the church pull, the lodge pull, the family pull, and so on.

I am not a specialist, but I do not need to be told that the best treatment of prisoners can be had only through employees of intelligence determined by test, of fitness determined by trial, of experience obtained by long service, the tenure depending solely upon faithfulness and efficiency. I know that still more is this true of physicians and attendants in care of the insane, or teachers of the deaf and dumb and the blind. The time has passed for arguments with those who say that equally suitable or better employees are those who get their places at the arbitrary discretion of the authority which is "responsible" for the particular institution, but who get them, in fact, primarily, one because he is a relative of a member of the board, one to pay a legislator for his vote, one because a prominent politician requests it, one because the governor is building up a machine, and so on through the endless list of pulls. Such a contention says that there is nothing in the treatment of prisoners but to keep them within the four walls, in silence, in stripes, and walking in the lockstep; there is nothing, in the care of the insane, but to keep a mad-house, to prevent escapes and the infliction of bodily harm, and keep down the cost of maintenance.

The country is familiar with the Indian Rights Association, of which Mr. Herbert Welsh has so long been the secretary. Its object has been not only to prevent the Indians from being plundered and murdered, but to raise them to the level of self-supporting civilized people. The object was entirely feasible. The process was the

practice of common honesty in dealing, and by industrial and common education. The men and women united in this association for years spent large sums of money, and, wherever there was a lull in political activity, made noticeable progress. Intermittently, but inevitably, came the swoop of the spoiler, and, at his demand, experienced agents, trained teachers, and faithful employees of all kinds, were swept out, and their places taken by those who had "whooped 'er up" in the last campaign. For years, from the subjects discussed at their conference, the association did not appear to realize the fundamental difficulty. Finally Mr. Welsh rose to the situation, and, declaring that the good accomplished would be destroyed as fast as accomplished while the spoils system existed, he took his place in the front rank of the National Civil Service Reform League, and helped carry its cause on to the great victory which has been won. The spoils system has been destroyed in the Indian service. Having a clean instrument to work with, in a civil service where tenure depends solely upon faithfulness and efficiency, the way is clear to solve unhampered the great problems of Indian civilization.

A great wave of municipal reform is sweeping over the country. It has had the happy result of enlisting thousands of men who never before entered a reform movement. So far, unless its recent meeting was an exception, its league has laid its stress upon higher individual citizenship as the solution of the colossal difficulties presented by municipal government. The advance of that reform has been in the line of modern charters. The man who drew such a charter, adopted by one of the finest cities in the West, told me that he knew nothing about civil service reform. While these charters are an improvement, municipal reform will not be accomplished under them, nor will it be accomplished at all while any appointing officer may fill the places of policemen and firemen upon the pull system, or while the street gang may be made an almshouse where the local bosses quarter their followers. It is true that public morals are debauched, that individual citizenship is at a low grade and that it must be elevated; and that is the final object of all reform; but, leaving the power of appointment by favoritism untouched, if we wait for municipal reform until this elevation takes place, and the good citizens go to the primaries and there contend with and overthrow the bosses, it will not come in our time. It is the

spoils system more than all other things combined which has debauched public morals, and they will remain debauched while that system exists.

And so it is with State, charitable and correctional institutions. I have looked over some years of the proceedings of this Conference, and have noted the wide range of the subjects discussed, and the reports of progress in matters of charities and correction in the various States. I do not wish to minimize the great good which has been accomplished, and the great influence which those interested in subjects germane to this association have had in causing an advance of public opinion; but it seems to me that in the failure to deal with the subject of the service in these institutions, — the effects of the various causes which lead to appointment, retention, or removal, — there is a fundamental failure to grapple with an obstacle which blocks your further progress. The processes of charities and corrections have been made ripe by these discussions for the widest and most beneficent development. What can be accomplished amounts to a revolution. Why is it so hard to make headway? I take the case of the Michigan City prison. It had a warden who had obtained his place by political influence. He was, however, an honest and capable man, and had become interested in his work. The prison was loaded with appointees made at the dictation of various pulls; but in the course of four years the warden had brought them into some sort of order and discipline, and both himself and most of them had reached the point where they might be said to have obtained, at the expense of the State, an elementary knowledge, and some years of experience in the treatment of prisoners. The warden particularly was at the point where he might be expected to become a most useful man to the commonwealth; but at that point there was a party revolution in the general assembly. Adequate legislation was put through providing for the election of a new board, which took the right view of the tariff question; and this board at once put into that prison, from the warden down, men whose views on the tariff were also sound, — allowing, however, within that limit, the widest latitude for pulls, the new warden being a member of the party State committee. Let us grant that the new men are in themselves fair subjects for tutelage. In a few years they will have learned something at the expense of the State, but by that time it is more than likely that the necessities of the tariff or the currency will demand their dismissal. In

the mean time this Conference will go on meeting and will find this prison on the same plane it has been for years. It is true that in many States the party wheels do not turn backward and forward so frequently as in Indiana. I know that where a party remains many years in power the service becomes in a manner settled and efficient, as was the case in the railway mail service in 1885. But no party remains forever in power, even in Pennsylvania; and there is, therefore, the standing menace that at any time the improvement of years may be destroyed.

Wherever the germs of the spoils system are, there is constant danger of a ruinous development at the hands of politics. That system exists in general to-day, and the ideas which this Conference advocates and hopes to see adopted will not take permanent root until the methods of management are changed. I may be contradicted but I shall remain in the confidence of foreordination that while that system lasts the institutions concerned will be found on the crude lines where they are. I shall also remain in an equally firm but more serene confidence that the system is doomed.

Within this generation two fundamental improvements have been made in civil administration: one is the merit system where public employment and promotion are granted upon impartial tests to those whom the competition open to all has determined best fitted. In unskilled employment the labor service system of registration has barred out politics and all kinds of favoritism in that department. These two systems are now on their conquering way against the combined power of party machines; against every kind of treachery, against ridicule, and denunciation they have pursued their irresistible march until the voice of the opponent is dumb. Eighty-five thousand places in the Federal service have been wrenched from the spoiler, and already in States and cities the forward movement has begun. There is no question as to the result. The heathen may rage again, and may again imagine a multitude of vain things, but politics and favoritism are to go out of the management of State institutions. Even party machines cannot resist the inevitable. These institutions will be filled with employees beholden to nothing but their own merit for appointment, and need look to nothing but faithfulness and efficiency for tenure. I do not claim that the introduction of any scheme of appointment, however good, will of itself clear public life of its dishonesty and inefficiency. The

State of New York has for a number of years had a civil service law and has lately incorporated the principle into its constitution; yet Platt's legislature has just passed, and Platt's governor has just signed a bill vacating the boards of eleven State hospitals, places filled for years by men and women serving disinterestedly and conscientiously without pay. New York City has for the same time had a civil service law, yet Tammany ran riot in every form. But what is it that is wresting from Platt step by step the spoils upon which his political life depends? It is the civil service amendment backed up by the power of the courts. What is it that enables Theodore Roosevelt and Colonel Waring to build up the police and street departments of New York until their improvement attracts the attention of the whole country? It is the civil service law and rules; and by these and these alone will Tammany Hall and Platt finally be broken. The high civilization which this Conference advocates will under such a system have a clean instrument to do its work. Its ideas will not be inculcated one year to be uprooted the next; but in the grasp of those who believe in them and who desire to work them out, their benefits will increase from year to year and from generation to generation.

XV.

Social Problems.

"NATURE *versus* NURTURE" IN THE MAKING OF SOCIAL CAREERS.

BY CHARLES H. COOLEY, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN.

One who, like myself, has learned a great deal from the works of Mr. Galton will recall how fond he is of speaking of the case of "Nature *versus* Nurture," intending by this alliterative phrase to set forth concisely the problem of the relative influence of heredity and environment in the making of social careers. As this expression has been taken up by other anthropologists, and seems moreover to embody the popular conception of the matter, it makes a good starting-point for some observations which I propose to offer.

It is the old question, so often discussed in debating societies, as to whether the man makes the circumstances or the circumstances make the man; and, like that question, is in its very form somewhat misleading. All such statements give the impression that the nature a man has at birth and the circumstances that act upon him afterward are separable forces, each of which impels him in a definite direction. If they agree, all goes smoothly, but if more or less at variance, they contend for mastery like the Greeks and Trojans over the body of Patroclus.

I would not say that this conception is altogether false; but it is inadequate, and often leads to confused and contradictory notions about the relation of society to the individual. To show where the inadequacy lies I will suggest another comparison, which is, in some respects, much nearer the truth. A man's nature is like a seed, and his circumstances like the soil and climate in which the seed germinates and grows: the coworking of the two is indispensable to every vital process whatever, and they are so different in their functions

that they cannot without inaccuracy be said to be in opposition. It would be absurd to ask whether the soil or the seed predominates in the formation of the tree. Each predominates in its province, and where there is growth they are working not in opposition but in harmony. No soil can make an apple-seed produce an oak-tree, but neither can any seed produce wood or fruit except as it gets materials and energy from the earth and the sun. There are some cases in which we may say, speaking rather loosely, that there is an opposition between the seed and the soil,—as for example when a tree of a tall species, like the elm, is growing in poor ground, and the question is whether it will attain a given height. It would seem that the tree strove upward while the soil held it back; but this is clearly a figurative and undiscriminating manner of speech which will not bear close examination. It is quite the same, I think, with the notion of an opposition between the individual and his environment; there is often a certain truth in it, but at the same time so much inaccuracy and vagueness as to make it little suitable for scientific analysis.

The point is that a social career is not the sum or resultant of two forces similar in kind but more or less opposite in direction; it comes by the intimate union and co-operation of forces unlike in kind and hence not comparable in direction or magnitude. So soon as a child is born, the nature he brings with him begins to unite with the world into which he comes to form an indivisible product; that is to say, a character and a career. The union of nature and nurture is not one of addition or mixture, but of growth, whereby the elements are altogether transformed into a new organic whole. One's nature acts selectively upon the environment, assimilating materials proper to itself; while at the same time the environment moulds the nature, and habits are formed which make the individual independent, in some degree, of changes in either.

To show how imperfectly the conception, "Nature *versus* Nurture," corresponds to fact, suppose I take by way of illustration a certain class of natural faculties and inquire what their relation is to the environment. The class I mean may be described as the imitative, emulative, and sympathetic faculties,—the higher manifestations of what Professor Giddings has named the "consciousness of kind." These are the distinctive and peculiar attributes of a social being, and have for their function the binding of men together into a

unified, communicative and co-operative life. Through them the social whole prevails over the separative tendencies of the individual, and social institutions and progress become possible.

It is the nature of these faculties to conform the conduct and opinions of the individual to the standards of the society in which he lives, without any reference whatever to the absolute ethical value of those standards. They make neither for good nor for bad, but for likeness. They are the root of fashion, of public opinion, of all working morality.

We none of us realize the degree in which we are dominated by these forces. Conformity is like the air; we do not mark it, for the very reason that it is always present. Whatever is general is assumed to be natural, and only when it is gone do we perceive that we can get along without it. To think out an independent system of conduct is something that not even the most active mind can altogether accomplish, and men in general make no attempt at such a thing. They accept the moral standards of the persons they look up to,— their parents, perhaps, or the leaders of their profession,— and do not take seriously any notions that conflict with those they find so accredited. Men are profoundly moral, but their morality is not that of Sunday-schools. It rather follows the original sense of the word "moral" and embodies that which is customary among the people with whom they feel most sympathy.

We see in the case of these elements of man's natural outfit how misleading it is to think of nature and nurture as independent forces alike in kind. Rather may we say that a child — to improve a little upon my first comparison — is like a vine, whose nature is to grow, but to grow not in any predetermined direction, as east or west, up or down, but along whatever support it finds within reach. We have emulation by nature, but the direction in which emulation will lead us depends entirely upon the ideals suggested to us by our social experience. The well-nurtured boy emulates his own father and George Washington; but the child of a criminal, for precisely similar reasons, emulates *his* father and Blinkey Morgan, or some other illustrious rascal.* It is not necessary to suppose any organic difference between the two. The very faculties that serve to elevate and ennoble a child who lives among good associations may make a

* See "Children of the Road," by Josiah Flynt: *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1896.

criminal of one who lives among bad ones. We rise or fall with equal facility through our associative instincts.

I remarked a moment ago that the organism acts selectively upon the environment, assimilating materials proper to itself. It may seem to follow that one does, after all, select the objects of his imitation and emulation, and that in this way the individual nature determines its own destiny as moral or criminal. But this is true only with many conditions and limitations. Some of us are much freer than others, and some periods of life afford more freedom than other periods; but no man at any time has anything like unrestricted freedom in the choice of the influences that control his life. In childhood or infancy he has it not, because then everything is chosen for him and he has no outlook beyond the family and the adjacent street. We have in the colleges what are called "elective" and "required" courses. The former are for the more mature students; they can study pretty much what they please; but the freshmen have their work cut out for them. So in life the freshman work is required, and its character depends altogether upon the institution one happens to be in. The child admires what others seem to admire, like those children around Hull House whose vision of glory, according to Miss Addams, finds embodiment in the local candidate for alderman. And then, as one grows up and, if all goes well, begins to have a wider outlook and to draw upon history and a large experience for his notions of conduct, he finds that his flexibility is not what it was and that habit gives a momentum to his career which makes a sharp turn impossible.

I say "if all goes well"; but with a large class of persons in this country, and one still larger in other countries, all does not go well. The wide outlook and the chance for choice depend upon knowledge, upon a trained intelligence and will, upon a sound and well-grown body. Where there is illiteracy, where there is neglect and underfeeding, where there is stunting toil put upon children, there are the unfree, there are those who can never be free. A real freedom cannot exist until the individual is born into a world where there is opportunity for the development of his highest faculties through access to all the necessary influences. There are many children now growing up who are no more free to choose a moral career than an American baby is free to speak the Chinese language.

There is no doubt, I think, that the writing of Lombroso and

others who have busied themselves with the physiological relations of crime, especially the studies of heredity like Dugdale's "Jukes," have left upon many the impression that crime, in the light of the latest researches, is to be looked upon as altogether an organic defect of the individual. Our minds like the tangible, and are always inclined to believe in a material cause, if any can be suggested. Accordingly, as soon as you show that crime is, to a considerable extent, associated with physical peculiarities, it seems unquestionable to many that those peculiarities are the sufficient and only cause of the crime.

On the other hand, there is a large and fairly trustworthy body of evidence that seems to make just the other way. I have in mind particularly that afforded by our schools for dependent children, juvenile reformatories, and institutions, on the plan of Elmira, for first offenders of maturer age. Dependent children must often, if not usually, spring from what would commonly be looked upon as a degenerate stock; yet the experience of institutions like that at Coldwater, Mich., shows that there are very few of them that cannot be made useful citizens by rational treatment. The juvenile reformatories claim surprising percentages of success,—and I know of no reason to suppose that these claims are greatly exaggerated,—while the experience of Elmira indicates that the period within which reform is possible, the plastic period, lasts longer than even the hopeful might have supposed. All this suggests very strongly that the criminal class is largely the result of society's bad workmanship upon fairly good material.

Indeed, it is only to the superficial student that the researches of criminal anthropology will seem to contradict this conclusion. A close study of *The Jukes*, for example, will show that the author imputes much less to heredity than might appear from a glance at his tables. "Contrived crime," he says, "is an index of capacity, and, wherever capacity is found, there environment is most effective in producing modifications of career." *

The difficulty comes from trying to think of heredity and environment as independent causes, from failing to perceive that, like male and female, each is sterile without the other. In studies of criminality or pauperism one sometimes sees such a percentage ascribed to heredity and such another to bad influences. But, strictly speak-

* Page 49.

ing, it would be as rational to inquire how many persons are children of their fathers, and how many of their mothers. These percentages may always be regarded with a justifiable suspicion.

After all, however, one must admit that there is some practical interest in even a crude and conjectural division between the personal and social factors of a criminal career. I therefore venture the following observations upon the matter.

No one will deny, I suppose, that there is now and then a child born having from the first such weakness of intellect and sensibility, such violence and distortion of certain passions, that no environment short of physical constraint can prevent the commission of crime. But it does not appear that the instinctive criminal of this pronounced type is common, or that he is the most dangerous of his kind. He seems to be of low intelligence, easily detected, and so repulsive in character and appearance that he is not so likely to become the object of admiration and emulation as are more accomplished villains.

Above these there is a far larger class of persons having various degrees and kinds of abnormality that make them peculiarly liable to fall into crime. This class produces many criminals, but it also produces many men of useful energy and some of genius. Whatever recklessness and indiscrimination may justly be attributed to Lombroso and his school, they have, nevertheless, shown the frequent association of genius with an abnormal organization.

But I have never seen any satisfactory evidence that more than a small proportion of the men who commit crime belong to either of these classes. With the greater part abnormality appears to be social, not organic, and could therefore have been prevented by a good environment. This, of course, must not be identified with comfort, respectable parentage, education, or any fixed set of circumstances. It is something that varies with the character of the individual, though a sound home-life is an element almost indispensable to it. It calls for a nurture which, beginning with discipline and training carefully adapted to the individual child, gradually permits and encourages the development of free choice and self-control, while supplying at the same time the best and amplest material for imitation and emulation. A just admixture of difficulty and conflict is quite indispensable, and the most sedulous training is usually far from the best.

Of course I do not now propose to go into the question of specific reforms. The conclusions that follow from what I have said, are, in the main, such as have been reached by those most actively engaged in practical enterprises. We need to work for the organic improvement of the race by arrangements that will make for the survival of the best. The fittest must always survive; but the standard of fitness is largely in our control. Any one familiar with poor-relief or its literature, can point out a dozen places where this may be hopefully begun. At the same time we must work upon the prevention of crime by the reform of social conditions. And, finally, when an individual actually enters upon a criminal career, let us try to catch him at a tender age, and subject him to a rational social discipline, such as is already successful in enough cases to show that it might be greatly extended.

XVI.

Prison Reform.

THE PROGRESS OF PRISON REFORM.

BY WARREN F. SPALDING,

SECRETARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS PRISON ASSOCIATION.

The popular thought regarding prison reform illustrates the permanence of first impressions. There was a time when the main purpose of prison reformers was to improve the condition of prisoners. Their demand was for better buildings, better food, better clothing, better sanitation. This demand has been met, and the prison reformer long ago turned his attention from the improvement of the condition of the prison to the improvement of the prisoner himself. But the prevailing impression regarding prison reform is that it is a movement to make the prisoner's lot more easy and his punishment less severe.

Nothing can be farther from the truth. The aim of prison reform is not to better the condition of the prisoner, but to make the prisoner better. Its criticism of the existing system of dealing with violators of the law is that it does not secure the highest end of all such treatment,— their restoration to conditions which will make them less liable to commit crime again.

One of the fundamental things in modern prison reform is the establishment of the proposition that the violator of the law shall be considered as a criminal and not merely as a prisoner. If he is considered merely as a prisoner, his physical well-being and comfort will take a prominent place. But if he is considered as a criminal, his imprisonment becomes at once only a part of his treatment by the State. The other parts must cover the period before his arrest and conviction, and the period after his incarceration.

When the violator of the law is viewed as a prisoner, his imprison-

ment becomes an end,—the "satisfying of justice." When he is viewed as a criminal, his imprisonment is seen to be a means and not an end. The end will be the extinguishment of his criminality, and the entire system will be constructed to secure that end.

This will lead first of all to treating each law-breaker as an individual. Prisoners can be treated in masses by machinery and rule, each like every other. But each criminal should be dealt with as if there were no other. In dealing with prisoners we ask regarding each, "What did he do?" In dealing with the criminal we learn to ask at every point, "What is he?" We are certain that there are defects in him. They may be in the mental, moral, physical or spiritual nature, and they must be discovered before they can be corrected. His crime may have some value in searching for the defect; but it may give very little light, and the weight to be given to it varies in every case. He may be much better or much worse than his deed.

The first error of the prevailing system of dealing with the law-breaker is the assumption that he must be put in prison. This assumption never had any rational foundation. There is nothing in the nature or operation of mere imprisonment which fits it to do what is generally expected of it. It is said that "it will give a man time to think." This would be of advantage for a thinking man; but imprisonment rarely makes an unthinking man think, and most criminals are unthinking.

It is supposed to deter men and has some value for this purpose; but in Massachusetts nearly one-half of all the persons committed to the county prisons have been there before, and 20 per cent. of these have served from five to fifty sentences. The deterrent effect is greatly over-estimated. Possible imprisonment may deter a man who has never been locked up. Actual imprisonment rarely deters from the commission of a second offence. Human beings adjust themselves to their conditions so easily that they have little fear of anything which they have once experienced.

The first reform in the system of dealing with criminals is the adoption of some substitute for imprisonment for a considerable proportion of the cases. At the present time in most States the only alternatives are release without restraint and imprisonment. The former is far too common. "Leniency" and "mercy" have their place in dealing with criminals, but there is no justification for

the release of law-breakers without restraint. Massachusetts provides for a middle course between such release and imprisonment; namely, release upon probation under the supervision of officers paid, as agents of the court, to look after those who are in their charge. The court bids them "go and sin no more," and requires its officers to see that they do so. The continuance of the probationer's liberty depends upon the use he makes of it. This is not "leniency," it is not "mercy." It is a practical, business-like method of dealing with the criminal. The probation officer is his custodian as much as a warden would be, and the impending imprisonment is more salutary and more restraining than actual confinement, in most cases.

But there must be imprisonment in many cases. How shall the decision be made?

The usual method is to make it upon the testimony given regarding the offence. This is specially true regarding misdemeanants. The Municipal Court in large cities has become a machine. "The mill" is an appropriate name for it. The imposition of fines for petty offences makes it easy to do machine work. Taking away a man's liberty involves serious responsibility, but the imposition of a fine seems a trifling matter, and twenty to fifty cases are put through "the mill" in an hour when business is pressing. After the fines have been imposed there comes a separation of the convicts. The man who can pay his fine goes free; the man who cannot is imprisoned. If he has $5 he is released; if he has only $4.99 he goes to prison, not for his offence, but for his lack of a cent. His offence would have been condoned for money a score of times in many cases. This is all wrong. If a man ought to be imprisoned for his offence, ability to pay a fine should not save him. If he is imprisoned it should be for his crime, and not for his poverty. The abolition of the fine as an alternative for imprisonment is a much needed reform.

The intelligent reformer urges the abolition of short sentences. When probation will not suffice, imprisonment should be for a term long enough to make it possible to do something with the offender. The absurdity of expecting to do anything in a month or two should be apparent; yet a very large proportion of the prisoners serve only a month, many of them less. Many of them merely get into condition for new dissipation, and return at once to their former ways. Cumulative sentences are better than simple ones, but the necessity for

alleging and proving previous convictions makes it difficult to secure them. The Massachusetts law avoids this difficulty. It authorizes a maximum sentence of a year for a "simple drunk," and as there is no minimum the court has a wide discretion.

Previous convictions are proved when the question of sentence arises, and the probation officer furnishes the complete record, so that the court may know whether to send one away for a day, a month, or a year. Under this system habitual misdemeanants rarely escape. There is more danger to the community from the careless and unintelligent treatment of misdemeanants than from any other cause; yet it is almost impossible to secure consideration for this reform, though misdemeanants constitute the bulk of the prison population, and take the largest part of the time and efforts of the police and the courts. Nowhere else are the indeterminate sentence and reformatory treatment so much needed as in dealing with misdemeanants.

The abolition of county and municipal prisons is another needed reform. Many reformatories have been established, but most of the prisoners are still in municipal and county prisons, where there is no classification; young and old, occasional and habitual offenders are herded together without any effort to secure reformation. This can never be changed until the State takes the county and municipal prisons into its own control, pays the expenses and manages them, as it does the State penitentiaries. The county holds no such relation to crime as to warrant the State in putting the control of prisons and prisoners into the hands of county officials. Crime is against the State, not against the county or city.

County and municipal management prevent uniformity of treatment. There are as many systems as there are prisons. State control will make it possible to classify prisons and prisoners. There are usually prisons enough, if they could be under one management. Those selected for the younger men with long terms should become reformatories, with the indeterminate sentence and modern methods of treatment.

The penitentiaries still await the work of the prison reformer. The definite sentence still prevails, as a rule, and it underlies almost all that is evil in the present system. It connects the punishment with the crime, rather than with the criminal. It deals with his past and not with his future. The judge does not ask, "When will he

cease to be a criminal?" but, "When shall he cease to be a prisoner?" It pays no attention to the welfare of the community after the expiration of a fixed date, but allows the worst man in the prison to be turned loose when that date is reached, regardless of his character.

The definite sentence has the worst possible influence upon the criminal. It makes no appeal whatever to him to change his character, for he knows that he will be discharged without changing it. He looks upon his punishment as "inflicted" upon him for something done in the past, and which must be endured, no matter how sincerely he repents, or how thoroughly he reforms. When he comes out he considers the account settled. The State has completed the process of "getting square" with him, and he can go on in the old way, more skilful for his contact with experienced men, and confident that he has learned from his previous failure how not to get caught.

This theory of the purpose of imprisonment, which underlies the definite sentence, affects the entire penitentiary system. The warden is first of all the custodian of the prisoner; he must keep him from running away. He is also the purveyor and employer. He is the manager, maintaining peace and good order. Men adjust themselves to these conditions. They consider themselves merely prisoners, men deprived of liberty for a time. They accept food, clothing, and shelter as things which belong to them. They remain in custody because they must; they obey because it pays. They make no effort, because nothing depends upon effort. They have no ambition, because there is no incentive to ambition. They become dependent and helpless, because everything is done for them. They go out at the end of their terms incapacitated by a manner of life which has required neither struggle nor forethought, and easily succumb to temptations which they have not acquired power to resist, or become dependent upon friends or charity.

They have ceased to be prisoners, but so far as the criminality which resulted in their imprisonment was a matter of character, they have not ceased to be criminals. In many cases the criminality was not a part of the character, and the first offence becomes the last; but the man who is a criminal at heart is rarely changed under the penitentiary system.

The only remedy is the indeterminate sentence and the change of system which it involves. The man is sent to prison because he is unfit to be at large. The crime which he has committed justifies

the court in depriving him of his liberty, but as the court cannot tell when he will be fit to be at liberty again, it does not fix the date of his discharge, but leaves it to be fixed by those who can judge when he has ceased to be a criminal. As soon as he reaches the prison he becomes conscious of an appeal to change his character, for he cannot be discharged until he changes it. He is not enduring a punishment "inflicted" upon him; the State is not "getting square" with him; he is not paying a debt. He is merely detained until he is fit to be at liberty. He has little to do with the past, but everything to do with the future, for the length of his term does not depend upon what he has done, but upon what he shall do. He will cease to be a prisoner when it is believed that he has ceased to be a criminal, and not before.

The warden assumes a new relation. He is still custodian, purveyor, employer, disciplinarian, but not in a way which creates antagonism. He and the prisoner are working for a common end,—the extinguishing of criminality in the prisoner. When that is accomplished, he will be released. This compels effort, but the compulsion is from within the prisoner, not from without. It incites his ambition by an appeal to one of the strongest of all motives, the love of liberty. It fosters independence and self-reliance by making everything depend on his effort (for nothing should ever be done for a prisoner which he can do for himself). It cultivates forethought and foresight, and makes struggle less irksome by attaching a reward to it. Prison discipline thus ceases to be a restraining force, and becomes an impelling one. The prison officer is not a repressor; he is rather an inspirer. His aim is to extinguish criminality by the development of better qualities; and with this purpose, labor, discipline, industrial training, education, physical culture, religious services will all be contrived and administered with this end in view. The State will use the term of imprisonment as an opportunity for making the prisoner fit for liberty.

The post-penitentiary period will also be changed. Now the months which follow the end of the sentence are full of peril to the prisoner and the community. He comes out with little ambition. Months or years of dependence have made him shiftless, indifferent, and incapable, and he easily lapses into pauperism or crime. When he comes from a penitentiary, under the indeterminate sentence, he is released, but not discharged. He has ceased for a time to be a

prisoner. He must prove that he has ceased to be a criminal. His life of self-restraint and self-control within the prison has fitted him for the needed effort. He is more ambitious, more capable, and more hopeful than under the other system.

All will not succeed,— some will remain criminals; but the post-penitentiary period is much more likely to be passed properly by one released upon probation from an indeterminate sentence than by one fully discharged from a definite sentence.

The advantages of the new system of dealing with law-breakers are clear. Its merits have been proved. Why, then, has it been so difficult to secure its general adoption? The conservatism of law-makers accounts for a large part of the delay. The conservatism of the legal profession is another obstacle. In every other profession a new method is welcomed; but in the law there is always hesitation about its adoption.

There is also a feeling that those who propose new methods of dealing with crime are sentimental, and therefore impracticable. This is rarely true. Sentimentalism about criminals grows out of ignorance. Those who study crime and understand criminals are never found in the ranks of advocates of leniency to the worst of men. They protest against a system which makes no attempt to change the character of the criminal in prison, and which permits his release while he is unchanged. They demand careful classification and the separation of beginners in crime from hardened offenders. In fact, intelligent prison reform can hardly be classed as one of the philanthropies, though many prison reformers have philanthropic feelings.

It is the work of hard-headed, practical business men, and should find its first response among them; for the old methods are unbusiness-like. They have no foundation in common sense, and they are wasteful in the extreme of the money of the tax-payer.

The ignorance of the people is another obstacle. They know little of the volume, cost, or character of crime, and therefore are indifferent about it.

There must be in every State — there should be in every large community — some organization which should familiarize itself with modern methods, disseminate information, and promote progressive legislation. It should provide literature, especially for the clergy, who have exceptional opportunities for reaching the people. It

should secure the more general observance of prison Sunday, insisting that every clergyman give at least one Sabbath a year to this subject.

The Massachusetts Prison Association, working upon this plan, has rendered important service in the cause of prison reform. It has nothing whatever to do with prisons or prison administration, but it carefully studies prison questions, and, because of its intelligent advocacy of improved methods, has secured a very large amount of valuable legislation.

Much ground has been gained for prison reform in recent years, but the great majority of our prisoners are still treated by methods which are far from the best. When the people understand what the prisons now are, what they may be, and what prison reform is, there will be more intelligent legislation, wiser administration, and better results.

XVII.

Conference Sermon.

CHARITY AND CHARACTER.

BY FRANCIS G. PEABODY,

PROFESSOR IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

"For their sakes I sanctify myself."—JOHN xvii. 19.

It is often debated in our day whether Jesus Christ announced a definite social programme; and many people are eagerly asking themselves: "How would Jesus Christ stand toward the grave social issues of the present time? Was he what we call an individualist, or was he what we call a socialist? What, according to him, is the philosophy of human society? How shall a disciple of Christ discover his Master's social doctrine? Is it possible to adjust the principle of the Christian gospel to the solemn problems and tragic needs of the industrial problem of to-day?"

How variously and how confidently men are bringing their answers to these questions! Here, on the one hand, is the undisturbed believer in the personal message of Christ, content to hear that great word of Jesus, the individualist: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" Here, on the other hand, is the passionate reformer, dreaming of a revolutionized world of social responsibility, and recalling that other great word: "He saveth others, Himself he cannot save." Here is the sanguine disciple who looks to convert the cruelties of modern trade to the law of Christ; and here, on the other hand, is the indignant agitator who finds in all religion a waste of energy and of capital, and, as one such man has lately said, "hates the very shadow which the spire of the village church casts upon the green." But in the midst of these eager, conflicting, bitter, modern voices, what a calm ensues when one turns from such hot debates to the great,

comprehensive affirmations of Jesus Christ! He does not argue, or demonstrate, or define, concerning either the life of God or the life of man. He comes, we say, to reveal the Fatherhood of God; but in all his teaching there is no formal proof of such a doctrine. He just goes his own great way through life, assuming this relationship of the Father and the Son; and, precisely as any man in his habitual and unconstrained conversation discloses the inclinations of his mind, so the prayer of Jesus, "Our Father," and the parable of Jesus, "The Father had compassion on him," and the incidental sayings of Jesus, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work," disclose with perfect naturalness the habitual attitude of his soul. And in the same way Jesus Christ is not a system-maker concerning the relations of human society. He does not come with a programme, or a panacea, or a mechanical device. The men of his time tried to claim him for such dogmatic utterances, just as men of our time are trying to claim him. "Master," said a legacy-tax reformer to him, "speak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me"; and Jesus answers, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar?" asked those who would claim him as a political revolutionist; but he simply refuses to be entangled by their talk and answers, "Your duty to Cæsar will be plain if you discern your duty to God."

And yet, out of such a mind, in habitual communion with eternal truths, there is sure to proceed a principle of human life in relation to society as naturally and as unmistakably as there flows his principle of Fatherhood in the life of God. These great conceptions which the learned modern world is so laboriously formulating, — the social organism, the brotherhood of man, the interdependence of the weak and strong, — these are not dogmas wrought out by Jesus into a system; they are simply the elementary assumptions out of which his conversation and his conduct habitually spring. When on some sultry day a fresh afternoon breeze sweeps over some suffering city, and pallid faces brighten, and the pillows of the sick grow cool, and the work of the world lies easier on its shoulders, — that is not an achievement of a system maker, as though it were devised by some judicious weather-bureau supervising all; it is simply the movement of the compassionate life of God across the weary life of man. And yet it "makes over," as we say, the human system, and revives the capacity to live and to

hope. So sweeps the breeze of Jesus over the weariness and hopelessness of the world, not to systematize its life, but to revive its life; not to originate a doctrinal system, but to restore a vital system; and many a perplexing problem and enfeebling disease of the modern social world is swept clean away by this tonic visitation of a new ideal.

Was Jesus an individualist? Oh, yes! There never was so absolute an emphasis laid on the imperishable and incalculable value of each human soul. The worth of the individual, man or woman, free or slave, saint or sinner, gained a wholly new quality in the light of the Christian gospel. The shepherd goes out after the one sheep; the woman sweeps the house for the one piece of money; the first gift of Christianity to a world where the mass of human beings were the mere instrument of gain or pleasure for the few, was the appreciation of the unsuspected significance of each humblest human soul. The method of Jesus was individual. He saves men one at a time. His source of help was individual. "I am the way." "Come unto me." Shall we say then that Jesus was not a socialist? Oh, no! It is impossible to read his gospel without perceiving how throughout his ministry there always hovered before his mind the dream of a perfected and united human society in which the brotherhood of man was at last to be fulfilled. He called his social ideal the kingdom of God. It was the one thing to be desired. It was the hid treasure for which men were to dig; it was the pearl of price for which all else was to be sold. Every Christian prays for this coming of social peace and justice when he prays, "Thy kingdom come." No modern agitator, dreaming of a time when all men shall live for the good of all, was ever more audacious or extravagant or Quixotic in his hope than this visionary Jesus, with his unconquerable hope of an earthly kingdom, of a living God.

What, then, we ask ourselves, becomes of any consistent philosophy of society? Is Jesus now individualist and now socialist? Is Christ divided? Are his disciples left among paradoxes and contradictions? On the contrary. In the twofold teaching of the individual and the social order lies the very essence of the Christian doctrine of society. Why is it that the individual is so absolutely precious? For its own sake? Oh, no! Taken by itself a human life cannot be regarded as a very important thing. It is, at the best,

but a momentary, fragmentary incident, a wave that leaps up into the light and then sinks back into the indistinguishable level of a universal sea. But suppose that in the economy of God each glancing wave counts in the great tidal sweep which refreshes the world; suppose each individual life is needed for the kingdom, and the kingdom comes through individual lives; suppose each member of the body has its part in the health of the whole, and the whole is sick if any part is weak,— then the paradox of part and whole, of soul and kingdom, of ocean and wave, is just what reveals the larger truth, and the philosophy of the individualist and the socialist are at one. The single life finds its significance in the service of the whole, and the whole finds its security in the integrity of each single life.

With what perfect completeness and with what exquisite humility Jesus sums up his doctrine. "For their sakes," he says, "I sanctify myself." "For their sakes": that is the end, the common good, the social welfare. "I sanctify myself": that is the starting point of the redemption. The beginning is individual, the aim is social. The way to make a good world is, first of all, to be good one's self. First character, then charity. First life, then love. That was the way of Jesus Christ. He does not stand in history as a great organizer or reformer of the social world. He stands primarily as the witness of the capacity for sanctification open to a human soul. The kingdom of God, according to this text,— perhaps the greatest text that even Jesus Christ ever uttered,— the kingdom of God which is to be the end of all endeavor, is to come only through the personal sanctification of individual souls. The Christian paradox is the paradox of the solar system. The isolated soul, like the isolated planet, means instability and chaos. The stability of each part is found in its steady orbit round the larger centre, and the integrity of the whole vast order hangs on the adjustment of each single part. That is, what we call in the outward world the law of attraction, and what Jesus calls in the inward world the kingdom of God.

We have delayed long enough in these wide regions of universal truth, and we turn with this principle of social duty to the special problem which draws us together here. It seems a most natural and simple thing that those who are concerned from year to year with the details of charity should meet in such a conference, and let

their various tasks lie for a few days in the light of great principles and large discussion. And yet, to any one who recalls the history of the world, such an assemblage as this is one of the most extraordinary and instructive witnesses of the greatest revolution which has ever occurred in the minds of men. Imagine a cultivated Greek of the Christian era, or a generous Roman of the classic age, entering your meetings and hearing these eager discussions about the pauper, the blind, the feeble-minded, or the unemployed. All this talk which is so familiar to the present age would be either fanatical nonsense or absolutely unintelligible to such a hearer. The classic world in which he lived had its prodigality of distribution, its largesses to a restless mob, its propitiation of discontent, all that we call its "*Liberalitas*"; but it had hardly the most scattered intimations of that help to the helpless which the Christians knew as "*Caritas*," and which was simply a new virtue in the history of the world. The simple fact is this, that such an assembly is the direct historic fruit of the Christian religion; and that the people who in our day are wondering whether religion has lost its hold upon the modern world must, if they have any acquaintance with history, take account of this wonderful testimony to the expansion and vitality of the Christian ideal. The renaissance of philánthropy in this present time is the most impressive witness that the influence of Christianity still guides the modern world. Out from the commercialism of our day has sprung this practical idealism. Through its religion of forms has burst this religion of deed. Beneath the physical principle of the survival of the fit which seems to dominate the competitive world, has been disclosed the ethical principle of the revival of the unfit, which now inspires the social world.

One sometimes imagines the Master of our faith revisiting the world which for nineteen hundred years has dated its history from him, and looking for the signs of his influence as surviving in the affairs of men. And I do not say that in the varied rituals and solemn splendor of the churches, which often seems remote from his simple ways, his discernment could not still detect some signs of the spirit which he desired to bequeath. But would he not most gladly and most naturally turn to the wonderful signs among us of the devotion of man to the service of man? Would he not pass by with generous pity, if not with solemn rebuke, much of the dignity and power, much of the dogmatism and definition, which claim to repre-

sent him, and would he not lay his hand of blessing with a peculiar love on some humble servant of the neglected child, or the repentant sinner, or the enfeebled body or degraded will, and speak again those kindly words, "Inasmuch as you have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me"?

As you meet them in the historic association with Christianity, and in this representative responsibility, you cannot help asking yourself for the Christian principle of effective charity. You disentangle yourself for a moment from the details and routine of your work, and look for the law which comprehends it all; and at once the twofold principle of Jesus — the principle of sanctifying one's self for others' sake, the dependence of charity on character — offers itself as your key. Let us look for a moment at each side of this twofold principle: at the end and at the means of social service.

"For their sakes,"— that is, of course, the aim of all that can be justly called charity. Charity, in its intention, is nothing more than an expression of a personal, individualized, human love. No machinery of relief can of itself express this relationship. All such machinery must be moved by the dynamic of the sheer pity of the heart. How immediately you detect any form of charity which is not penetrated by this human relationship, so that it at every step repeats the words, "For their sakes!" How quickly charity, thus uninspired, becomes mechanical, commercial, official! How soon a human soul shrivels up into what we call a "case," and how one's method of relief grows so stiff and wooden as to be fitly called a Bureau! How much of modern charity service, with its visiting and meeting-haunting, bears the taint of social ambition, or pious self-scrutiny, or kindly patronage, so that the other day it was written of a poor, starving, unemployed workman, "When he had fasted forty days, he was afterwards an-hungered, and behold, angels came and patronized him." And mean time, the primary source of power in charity is so simple, so unmechanical, so wholly spiritual, that it is sometimes quite obscured by the elaboration of method and multiplicity of details. It lies in the natural sharing of life with life, the contagion of personality, which is as real as the contagion of disease,— the glad desire to live for their sakes, and the happiness and refreshment of such service. In this return to the elementary sources of power, you find your courage to meet the wearying ineffectiveness which the wisest adminstration never wholly escapes.

Your methods must be tentative and experimental, and you meet here with a great hope that the collective wisdom may teach that which the wisest of you must feel he lacks; but for to-day you turn from method to motive, from the administration to the inspiration of charity; and how human your work turns out to be! You are simply people who are trying to live "for their sakes," and your methods are simply the varied mechanism through which the motive power works. Many an elaborate, philanthropic scheme has come to wreck, like a steamer in a storm, just because it had not enough of this motive-power within to carry it past the rocks of its own external method; and many a half-equipped plan has come through in safety, because it was driven by this interior power of the unselfish life. "For their sakes" commands the Master, as He sends you forth upon the ocean of your endeavor, and "for their sakes" you steer broadly out through untried methods to distant and unvisited ports.

But, after all, this desire for service is not the whole of the Christian law. It is quite true that the springs of charity lie in generous devotion, but it is by no means true that such charity is always discreet, or just, or effective, or even welcome. The sober truth of which this generation has at last become aware is this,— that among the most unjust and demoralizing influences in charity is the influence of unreflecting, ill-directed kind-heartedness. That is a truth which even now is hard to believe. To many persons unobservant of the complexity of modern life, rational method seems to shut out human feeling. Such a person speaks of scientific charity as the kind of charity "which Paul forgot," forgetting himself that it was Paul who had beseeched us by the mercies of God that we present a reasonable, that is, a rational, reflecting, and well-considered service. But among thoughtful persons it has become plain that modern charity calls for personal preparedness. Once the administration of relief was the calm vocation of unsuccessful ministers, or the easy resource of political underlings; now the administration of relief is a profession with the dignity of learning and with the demands of leadership. A generation ago the universities of this country had established no quickening contact with the problems of modern society; now the universities are stocking this new profession with men and women liberally trained for social service. In short, we have come to the point where effectiveness in charity

calls for preparedness in the agents of charity, and where the sentiment of the heart must be directed by the science of the head.

And as any one of us faces this other aspect of his task, there meets him that other half of the great saying of Jesus. "For their sakes," that was his mission, the sheer self-abandoning generosity of self-sacrifice. But what does he do for their sakes? Well, first of all, he sanctifies himself. He commits his own personal life to the discipline, and patience, and instruction of God; and then he is prepared to seek and save those that are lost. Nothing, indeed, is more wonderful about the career of Jesus Christ than his capacity to wait until he was ready,—until, as he says, his hour is come. At twelve years old he is aware that he must be about his Father's business; but he does not enter on that business until he is thirty. In the mean time he sanctifies himself, and then, out of the resources of his disciplined personality, flow forth the new full stream of blessing. That is the method of all social movements which are to be continuous and enlarging. They proceed from persons who have sanctified themselves. The great epochs of philanthropy, like those of religion, have been created not by the discovery of some new device or scheme, but by the appearance of certain personalities of enlightenment, originality, and devotion. You cannot enter a modern institution of charity without taking account of this personal quality. Back of its machinery you perceive the amount of personal force it represents. Its very laws and affairs and faces express the directing life, as the building expresses the architect's design. It may be that in theology there is what the older teachers used to call a scheme of salvation; but certainly in sociology there is no scheme which is in itself a saving power. The proper agents of salvation are saviors; the natural channel of salvation is through a person to a person; and the only person who can save is the person who has been antecedently saved and sanctified himself.

And then there is another aspect of this personal preparedness which must have come home to many of us in many a kindly endeavor. It is the spiritual impotence of the inexperienced life. No discovery in philanthropy is more disheartening than to find that one's generous desires do not reach as far as they were meant to go. A young man throws himself into the charities of the time, a young woman surrenders her careless leisure for social service, and one

day these young enthusiasts discover that they are not really getting at the hearts which they want to reach. They find themselves remote, or repelled, or ineffective, and, in spite of all the books they have been reading about helping the poor, and in spite of all the generous impulses through which God has been calling them, the chasm between themselves and other lives remains unbridged. What is the matter with these generous souls? The matter is that they themselves have not had the experience which they are trying to interpret. They are discovering that to be of much permanent help to others one must have had something of the same discipline or trouble himself. The fact is that not everybody who wants to be of use to others can be of use. The interpretative power of another life is given only to one who has some kinship of experience himself. You go sometimes to a friend in trouble and try to be kind, but you speak as to the deaf; and then there comes into that silence some other life which has been through the same sort of conflict and issued into some sort of peace, and the poor troubled heart begins to hear its own language, and is comforted as by its native tongue in the midst of a strange land. And so it is with the problems of the poor. They are not to be interpreted by sheer kindliness of soul. They demand antecedent discipline in the interpreter. What a great word is that of Jesus, "If any man will come after me and take up my ministry of service, let him first of all take up his own cross and carry that." It is only the bearers of their own crosses who are able to be the saviors of other souls. Even the cross of Jesus Christ is not the symbol of his suffering only: it is the symbol of his power to be a savior of men.

Thus the principle of sanctifying one's self for others' sake strikes far deeper than the mere education in learning or in skill. It comprehends all the deeper experience of one's life,— many of those personal and interior and unspoken,— yet they seem far removed from any relationship with one's outward work among the poor. Yet it may be that for this very outward work these interior searchings of your own heart have been forced upon you by the unappreciated goodness of God. It may be that the first step in your capacity for doing good lies in your discipline in being good. You rise up from your own private trouble and go out to help the poor, but perhaps the best gift that you carry is the brave bearing of your own cross. You put off your own disappointment and put on the

garment of cheerfulness; and, as you go your way of service, the very quality of your counsel betrays the depth of your experience, and the courage which you carry is the courage which you communicate. Your "*Caritas*" conveys your character. It is "for their sakes" that you have sanctified yourself.

To what then, finally, are you led by this Christian law of the social world? You are led to this, that it is all one world,— the world of prosperity and poverty, of inward experience and outward relief; of sanctifying one's self, and of social service; all one world to be met and interpreted and lifted all together. There are three attitudes which one's mind can take toward the world in which he lives. The first attitude is that the only world worth considering is the world which centres in one's self. Here the world is one indeed, but how mean and meagre a world it is! My problem in life is to help myself. My joy is in advancing myself. My world is myself. My motto is the motto of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The second attitude is that there are two worlds,— my own world, and the world of others; and I venture at times across the borders of the one world and into the regions of the other with my petty curiosity, or my pity, or my patronage. The third attitude is that the world of the common life is one world; that there is no living or dying to one's self; that the discipline of each counts in the welfare of all; that you cannot separate the life that is for their sakes from the life that is sanctifying one's self, the doing good and the being good; that the life of the poor and the life of the prosperous rise or sink together with each lift or lowering of the one life of the age. That was a sentence which should be written in gold above this meeting which was spoken by the head of Hull House: "You cannot do anything for the poor; you can only do things with them." And what is that word but a restatement of the saying of Paul, that we are members one of another, and that no one member can say of another, "I have no need of thee"?

Now this recognition of the comprehensive unity of the social life is what brings to any one of you both patience and hope. You do not expect to redeem that great unity of the world all at once. It is a vast and complex organism, whose perfect redemption is not to come until each part is redeemed. You have given up looking for short-cuts to the millenium. You cannot separate the problem of helping the poor from the problem of Christianizing the rich. You

do not expect the poor to be thrifty, pure and temperate while the more favored classes are ostentatious and self-indulgent. It is all one world, and it must be viewed with patience. "For their sakes" you must be willing to go slow.

But this unity of the world adds to your patience hope. For every good stroke anywhere counts for the whole. Each life that is redeemed becomes a redeemer. Each life that is sanctified is sanctified for others' sakes. Each step in personal discipline is a step toward social service. Each private burden borne makes you stronger to bear the burden of the world. Your character and your charity are not two problems, but one.

My friends and fellow-members of the Conference, here, among your many sources of discouragement, is the fundamental ground for a renewed and solemn hope. It is not the measurable quantity of your achievements which encourages you. On the contrary they often lie so meagrely before you as to bow you in distrust. But the basis of confidence is in the unity of the world, in which not an atom fails of its attractive force, and not an effort of the will is in vain. The greatness of that law holds the insignificance of each humblest service; and every wise design and every generous impulse counts for the good of the whole. In the wonderful system of the telephone the whole complex communication depends, as you know, at each point on that little film of metal which we call a transmitter. Take that little disk out of the system, and it becomes the most insignificant and purposeless of things; but set it where it belongs in the wonderful mechanism of the greater system, and each word that is spoken into it is repeated miles and miles away. So stands the individual in the midst of the providence of God. He is a transmitter. Taken by himself, what can be more insignificant than he? And yet, at each point, the whole system depends on the transmissive power of the individual life. It takes its place in the great order, saying to itself, "For their sakes I sanctify myself." And then, by the miracle of the method of God, each vibration of its insignificant but sanctified life reaches the lives which are waiting for its message miles and miles away.

XVIII.

Minutes and Discussions.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

FIRST SESSION.

Thursday Night, June 4, 1896.

Invocation by Rev. Father Schmidt.

Address of welcome, by Hon. Harvey J. Hollister, Chairman of the General Reception Committee.

Address of welcome by Governor John T. Rich, of Michigan.

Address of welcome by Hon. L. C. Stow, Mayor of Grand Rapids.

Address of welcome by President James B. Angell, President of Michigan University, Ann Arbor.

Response to addresses of welcome by Alexander Johnson, of Indiana.

Response to addresses of welcome by Frank B. Sanborn, of Massachusetts.

Annual presidential address to the Conference by A. O. Wright, of Wisconsin (page 1).

Reception given to the visiting delegates by the Local Reception Committee.

The following are abstracts of the various addresses: —

ADDRESS OF HON. J. T. RICH, GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference.— It gives me more than ordinary pleasure to welcome this body to our State. We are always glad to welcome anything that is good, and we believe that you are doing a great work. We are satisfied that you cannot do great good to any class of people without doing some good to all. Those of you who come from other States we

specially welcome here. This association is devoted to the best and broadest of charities, the helping of those so unfortunate as to be unable to help themselves to build up their personal independence and individuality. You represent that kind of correction which goes forward to prevent rather than to cure, as illustrated in the kindergarten and other educational institutions that enable the growing child to broaden and develop into a good and useful citizen. The national association is too broad a subject for me to dwell upon tonight, but I may say of our State association, our State Board, that such a work has been done, such good accomplished, that it makes one blush to think of the condition of some of our penitentiaries when this Board was organized, that such a condition of things had been permitted in our jails and penitentiaries. Through the influences of the Board and legislation, all has been changed. I believe we now have scarcely any institutions for which we need to blush because of their condition, whether penitentiaries, jails, or reformatories.

It may not be out of place to mention some other things that have been done and changes that have occurred. Twenty or twenty-five years ago, the little school at Coldwater was created, an experiment in a great many respects, but destined to take children without homes or anybody to care for them, give them the principles of character, the rudiments of education, and so train them for the best situation possible. It has done good work. Any one can point there as a place from which children from the dependent classes can develop into material that makes good and useful citizens. The child is not dropped the moment it is transferred to the inside of a home, but care is extended over the children until they are able to take care of themselves. Years ago we were using what might be called juvenile reformatories, but they did not reform. There were high board fences, bars to the windows, and punishment. Those things are gone, and there are nice cottages and places for the boys to go to school. There are men occupying as responsible positions as any in the State who at one time were in this school. The State is now providing a similar institution for girls. Thus we have started in the line of prevention. Bringing the matter down to dollars and cents, I believe Michigan never made a better investment of money than in these schools and the care of the children she sends out.

There has also been improvement in the older institutions, but not so marked. The last legislature passed a law authorizing the parole system, permitting prisoners to go out under such restrictions and regulations as may be deemed good and just. Within three months forty-four have been released under the provisions of this law; two have been taken back into prison. When it is proposed to parole a prisoner, his prison record must be up to a certain grade. The warden must find out as much as may be about the character of

the prisoner; some one must act as his first friend and the sheriff must ascertain that the person proposed as first friend is satisfactory. If after looking over these reports the warden deems it best to recommend parole, he reports to the Board, and, if they approve, they so report to the governor and he is released. He is not required to be bound by any rules beyond behaving as an ordinary good citizen. He is not even required to abstain from liquors, but if he gets drunk or misbehaves in any way he is liable to be reincarcerated. More than ordinary care has been taken in securing to men their parole. I believe some have doubted the wisdom of the law, but we are becoming satisfied that it is a step in the right direction. Our legislature passed another act which I believe is going to have an important bearing in future years. It requires, in sentencing a prisoner to State's prison for more than one year, that there shall be a statement filed, stating the misdemeanor pronounced at the trial, the names of the witnesses and the jurors, whether there were any aggravating or mitigating circumstances; the statement to be made under the supervision of the judge, and the judge to state in writing his reasons for the sentence being long or short, what he knew of the character in general, etc.; this becomes a matter of record to the benefit of which the prisoner will be entitled later on in case of mitigating circumstances. I think this law has been in operation but a short time, so we cannot expect to see much yet in the way of results, but we can see the tendency to cause care to be exercised in the administration of sentences. The results of our prison work I believe are as good as we have a right to expect in view of the very hard times extending all over the country. Some further legislation is needed; but, on the whole, I think that we can safely report that the State of Michigan stands shoulder to shoulder with her sister States along the line, and she intends to keep right along that line.

I wish hearty success to this meeting.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT ANGELL, MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY.

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference.— I take great pleasure in joining with his excellency the governor and his honor the mayor, on behalf of the educational institutions of this State, in giving you a very hearty welcome. I feel like thanking you in advance for the inspiration I am sure you will give us all, the wise and humane ideas with which you have come laden for our benefit. We hope your influence will pervade the whole community, and especially we hope that some of your ideas may reach the teachers of this State, and, through them, the coming generations who are to assist in the control of the best interests of the institutions of this State.

Our own educational institutions have done something toward preparing the good soil into which the good ideas — the seeds you bring here — may be cast. Of course everybody knows that, like other Western States, we have a well-organized system of public schools that reaches out to the most secluded boy or girl in every corner of the State. We have, above that, what we deem the most admirable provisions for secondary education. We believe that in our high schools we have a system which we need not fear to compare with those of any other State in the Union. Then comes the State Normal School, with its thousand pupils, preparing themselves to be teachers in all the schools of the State. Then the agricultural college, which was founded by the State of Michigan before the Federal government gave appropriations of lands on which agricultural colleges in most of the States of the Union have been founded. The State has established a mining-school in the very midst of the rich mines of the upper peninsula. We have what we may call the semi-charitable schools, for deaf-mutes, the blind, the imbeciles. We have also denominational colleges in the State, some of them vigorous, well-equipped, and altogether comparable with many of the colleges of New England. And, crowning and completing the system of public education, we have the State university, now about sixty years old, carrying a force of about one hundred and seventy teachers, gathering some three thousand students in its various departments, engineering, medicine, and law, attracting students from every State of this Union, and from several foreign states across the sea. It is clear, I think, that Michigan is looking after the educational interests, — from those living in log cabins in the northern part of the State, through all lines of schools, up to and through the university, — furnishing, almost without money and without price, the very best education that can be procured in these United States. I say, therefore, without hesitation, that I think we ought to have a soil prepared, ready here for these humane and wise thoughts that you will present to us during the coming week. I feel disposed to add to the educational list of the State at this time the very broad organization of Charities and Corrections, because, in addition to its ordinary and regular duties, they have kindly taken upon themselves the duty of visiting the colleges and universities of the State and giving lectures on subjects in connection with the work. This Conference, it seems to me, may well be considered as a great university, bringing instruction to men of the various trades and professions, in public charities, in penology, in certain difficult educational problems, — in everything, in fact, that tends to the good of the human race. In almost all items of education, reformatory work, sociology, political economy, general administration, your prisons, reformatories, almshouses, your charitable homes, are great laboratories of this university, in which you are testing theories, making your sagacious experiments; you are collecting and collating facts, and defining theories, which are so

needful to be suggested to us in these days. Here you come now, you masters, teachers, professors, to deliver to us the results of this labor, study and work of yours, — to interpret to us, to draw such inductions as shall be a guide to us in this State, and to all people everywhere.

RESPONSE TO WELCOMES.

BY MR. ALEXANDER JOHNSON, FORT WAYNE, IND.

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference, — For something like twenty-three years the National Conference of Charities and Correction has held its sessions from end to end of this Union, welcomed in the land of "The Golden Gate," by the other ocean, and along the great rivers, in nearly all of our great cities. I have had the pleasure of being with the Conference on many of those great occasions, but I believe we have never before received a warmer welcome than what we have had to-night. It is true that some twenty years ago, in Michigan, we had an address from the governor of Michigan, Governor Bagley, who presided, and who gave his sanction to the formation of the Board of Charities, and often gave it well merited aid; but I do not remember any other occasion on which a governor has shown so keen an appreciation of what we are here for, what we are hoping to do.

It might be said of Grand Rapids, This is the place we long have sought. At least Grand Rapids has long sought the Conference. Five or six times we have had pressing invitations and letters from distinguished citizens of Grand Rapids. I confess I am very glad we have come. Twenty years ago we met in Michigan. Twenty years ago you sowed the seed, and you are helping us to reap the harvest. The gentlemen representing Michigan have been too modest in speaking of Michigan before the Conference. When I think of your hospitals for the insane; when I think of the Coldwater school leading the way, not only for Wisconsin, Minnesota, and many other States, but the stimulus to what has been largely carried out in England and leading countries of the other continent; and when I think that the general plan as carried out in Coldwater is perhaps the best of those of any of the States, not excepting Wisconsin; when I think of the many things you might have said that you did not say, — I say it is no wonder the State of Michigan is what she is to-day. It is good to meet here the old faces in Grand Rapids, and it is no wonder the city of Grand Rapids is a prosperous city.

BY MR. F. B. SANBORN, CONCORD, MASS.

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Conference, — Although, coming late, I was so unfortunate as not to have heard the

addresses of welcome, I had a little private welcome soon after arriving in Grand Rapids. The warden of your State prison told me he was glad to see me here. I am glad to be here, but trust I shall not extend my travels much in his direction. I should have been here earlier, but I have been obeying your State legend, "If you're hunting for a pleasant peninsula, look around you." I have been travelling hither from Chicago ever since half-past ten this morning. I never was in this part of the State before. I thought the name of your city very striking; but the train from Chicago did not bear out that title. It might be called *grand*, but certainly it was not "rapid." It took some time to reach "White Pigeon,"— a name suggesting celerity of motion. Perhaps white pigeons do not fly as rapidly as those of other colors. We spent an hour or two there, I suppose, investigating the pigeons.

I have been asked to speak of the origin of the Conference. You may remember that a witness in court some years ago, when asked the date and place of his birth, replied, "Although present on the occasion, I have no distinct recollection of it." The birth of our Conference can be reached rather more distinctly. I remember the origin both of this Conference and of the Social Science Association out of which it grew. With the aid of others, in 1865, I, being connected with the original Board of Charities of Massachusetts, formed a society called the Social Science Association. After existing nine years, the officers of the Association called two conferences in the city of New York,— one, of the Boards of Charities (at that time, I think, only four or five; now more than twenty), the other, of State Boards of Health in the United States. Neither gathering was very large. The Charities had, perhaps, a dozen members officially present. This Conference developed out of that meeting, in which we felt that we were ready for larger action. Two gentlemen and one lady whom I saw there in one group proved to be the Wisconsin Board of Charities,— Mr. Elmore, who I hoped would speak here to-night, Mr. Giles, and Mrs. Lynde. Mr. Giles is dead. The Conference grew rather slowly. The State Boards were few, and the interest of the public twenty-two years ago by no means what it is now. Each conference was called by the Social Science Association, and held joint meetings; and the duty of the Social Science Association, until 1879, was to provide a place of meeting, and to see that the Conference Proceedings were printed. The Secretary had, perhaps, more responsibility than any other member of the Association. The Social Science Association met for the last time with the Conference in 1878, at Cincinnati. With the year 1879 the Conference in Chicago assumed an independent existence; and, from that time on, it has been wisely held that the interest and attendance here is sufficient, without mingling the special work of the Conference with other associations. Our first successful meeting was in Detroit, in 1875, when Governor Bagley of Michigan presided, and we had

present members of the Michigan Board of Charities,— established, I think, before that time. It was a very interesting occasion.

In these intervening years I have not been able to visit Michigan very often. I suppose the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota actually lead the country at the present day in the classification and management of the State institutions. I am quite sure that is the opinion of the gentlemen who have spoken this evening, and I know it is that of Secretary Hart.

SECOND SESSION.

Friday Morning, June 5.

Subject, "Soldiers' and Sailors' Homes."

Report of the committee, C. E. Faulkner, Atchison, Kan., Chairman (page 276).

Paper by Colonel E. E. Clough, Deadwood, N. Dak., on "State Soldiers' Homes" (page 280).

Paper by Captain J. H. Woodnorth, Milwaukee, Wis., on "Pensions and Soldiers' Homes" (page 285).

Paper by Mrs. L. A. Bates, Aurora, Neb., on "The Work of the Women's Relief Corps" (page 290).

DISCUSSION.

Gen. L. G. Rutherford, Grand Rapids, Mich.—Our association is essentially different from others. As you readily see from the addresses that have been given, our object in coming together is to devise ways and plans to better enable us to care for your wards and mine,— the wards of the country. Like all other classes of men, there are good men and bad among these; that is specially noticeable when you come to notice the members of the Soldiers' Homes. In our Michigan Home we have some four hundred and sixty. I am proud to witness to the fact that on the streets of Grand Rapids or any other city there is no better class of men than in the Soldiers' Home. Yet the average citizen will tell you he regards the Michigan Home as the dumping-ground of the offscouring of God's creation. Did you ever notice that if you drop into a glass of water, transparent as air, two or three drops of pollution, the whole is discolored? If two or three soldiers stagger on the street, the world charges the Soldiers' Home with doing it. It is not true.

I believe the curse to the Soldiers' Home to-day is the politics of the country. Ever since about 1870, when the soldier passed back into citizenship,— though no particular notice was taken of him until General Logan thought of the beautiful memorial service out of

which has grown the magnificent soldiers' organization,— the great political parties have catered to his vanity to procure his vote. Legislation has passed pretending to be in the interest of the soldier which has been pernicious. The parties, as a matter of fact, care nothing for him except as a means toward some position of honor or emolument.

The large majority here have grown to manhood and womanhood since the veteran laid down his musket to return to the ranks of civilized life. I am one of those who believe that as soldiers of this republic we did no more than our duty. Cities are formed of individuals; those cities grow up together and form States or governments. The object of government is to protect the individual, and when one is protected all are protected. Without this government, there is anarchy. We owe to the government that protects us all the rights, all the happiness that we enjoy. Without the protection of government life is not worth living. What, then, becomes the duty of the citizen when that government is assailed? On the rock of principle these men left all the luxuries of life to give their lives a voluntary sacrifice on the altar of liberty. Those who come after us will look back with pride and say, "You protected the civil government, and we will protect you."

Capt. H. A. CASTLE, St. Paul.— The management of the Soldiers' Homes, both State and national, has been, with due consideration, left almost wholly in the hands of the soldiers of the United States. It has been thought, and it is true, that these men can best sympathize with the feelings, wishes, needs and hopes of their disabled and destitute comrades. A portion of the men receiving these benefactions are men who have made failures. Ninety-five per cent. of the veteran soldiers of the Union, since the close of the war, have done their part as citizens, and have filled with honor and dignity the various positions in which they have been placed, from the factory, the shop, the school-house, up to the highest offices in the gift of the government. Of the five presidents elected since the close of the war, four have served in the army. Several of the governors of the State of Minnesota were old soldiers. Of the five per cent. failures in life, two per cent. are now inmates of the Soldiers' Home. It is impossible to guide all these charities by the strict rules of political economy or charitable science that prevail in other organized charities, but I do not believe we have gone far enough in the direction of guarding against those who have administered this charity in their own selfish interests. Our pension system, admirable as it is, the best in the history of the world, might be arranged so as to do a larger amount of good. $140,000,000 is spent annually, and yet the pension office has tried in vain to put that under some different legislation. As it is, it goes to the pensioner to do as he pleases with, and too much is squandered that should go to the families. Judge Lochren, a man in sympathy with soldiers of the Union, himself a gallant

soldier of a Minnesota regiment, has recommended in his annual report that, in case a pensioner be unable to use his money properly, a guardian be appointed to use it for the family; but that idea, wise and just and good as it is, has been hooted at by both parties, and destitute families are suffering from the squandering of the money within forty-eight hours after it is received from the pension agent. Some of us connected with Soldiers' Homes are taking care of the institutions on the ground. As long ago as 1889, when we had only eight or ten occupants, we required a payment into the treasury by each of these pensioners of the excess over $4.00 a month. We have followed that rule from the beginning until now. There has never been a relaxation of it in a single instance. The rule is a great improvement, and nearly ten thousand dollars paid in goes toward the expenses of the institution. We have found this proper and right. It is approved by the best judgment of the citizens, of the best element of the soldiers. A few years ago the question was raised whether we had any right to do this, and after thorough discussion it was legalized by the State, and passed upon by the courts, and we feel impregnably intrenched in that position, and will carry it through as long as the present board of trustees remains in control. There have been twelve or fifteen different members of the board since its organization, and we have never had a particle of dispute; the board has been unanimous from the beginning in sustaining that rule. We believe it is a good example to other States. (Wisconsin has the same practice.) We have another rule. We have solved what has been referred to as a problem for solution in the report of the committee. The Soldiers' Home is for those without families. Where a man has wife or children, instead of taking him to the home, we allow a certain amount, averaging about six dollars, for use to help in the support of the family, at wholesale rates. It is not disbursed in cash payments, but through a regular system of orders, given at the store, and payable only in cash at the State Treasury to the man who sells the supplies. These are matters connected with the trust that we are here to discuss. We are glad to explain them to you, and have them go into the archives of the association, and I trust, as our organization becomes perfected, we shall learn more and more of the true principles through which the money placed at our disposal may be made to do a wider range of good.

PRESIDENT WRIGHT.— I wish to add to what Captain Castle has said concerning the character of the Soldiers' Homes the result of my investigation as to insane soldiers in Wisconsin. I have had a complete list made — the first that has ever been made — with reference to their condition, and the result is surprising to me. Taking the number of surviving soldiers of the Civil War now in the State, as recently compiled by the State census, the proportion of insane soldiers to the total number of surviving soldiers is only one-half the proportion of the insane in the State of men of equal age,— men

averaging sixty years of age. I judge the reason is that the soldiers were selected. They were subjected to a medical examination almost as severe as that required for life insurance. There was also a moral selection; there was also the element of the spirit which animated the men who enlisted; and the physical and moral were taken together, and made them almost proof against insanity. I found another remarkable thing in relation to the pension question. More than half of the insane soldiers had no pension whatever; they had nobody to look after it (some are doing that now). I found also several cases where friends had secured $22 a month pension for their husbands on the express ground that the husband needed some person to look after him, and then sent him to the insane hospital at public expense.

Mr. F. B. SANBORN, Massachusetts.— I think we ought to express our appreciation of the very able and sensible manner in which the gentlemen have presented this subject to the Conference of Charities. I am sure they have presented it in a manner which commends itself to the Conference.

THIRD SESSION.

Friday Night, June 5.

Subject, "The Merit System in Public Institutions."

Report of the committee by Phillip C. Garrett, Philadelphia, Chairman (page 368).

Paper by Lucius B. Swift, Indianapolis, Ind., on "Dangers of the Spoils System in Public Institutions" (page 391).

Paper by Professor C. R. Henderson, Chicago, on "The Adaptation of the Merit System for Efficiency" (page 382).

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIR, Mr. LEVI L. BARBOUR.— This is the first time this subject has been included in the deliberations of the Conference. The marvel to me is that it has not been taken up earlier in our history.

Mr. C. S. LOCH, London, Eng.— Many years ago, as a young man, I saw a good deal of one of those whose names have been mentioned on this platform, Sir Charles Trevelyan, a man of giant size, Cornish strength, and who brought into everything he did the mark of straight and strong views. He brought out more than any one else the furor raised by the introduction of Civil Service Examination in England and Canada. I have talked with him as to what

have been the practical effects, and he was perfectly satisfied with the results. When you consider those old days in England, you ought to bear in mind that they are past and gone; but I think, so far as local system in England went, that it has never been subjected to political influence. That is what strikes me so much in visiting institutions here,— that not only is the politician rampant when he has to deal with the appointments of civil government, but his hand is laid even upon the smallest detail of municipal government and all those problems of individual life dealt with by your institutions. It has seemed to me that democracy had a crown and sceptre, but has not been annointed king in regard to home affairs. With your greater politics, I suppose, speaking as an outsider, I am not concerned; but it does seem to me I am concerned — as, at any rate, one who can wear the blue ribbon of this Conference — with that kind of politics that allows the evils that are going on within a few miles of your most populous towns. It does seem to me strange that more is not accomplished to bring you to exert your power about the simplest problems and difficulties. Not a great deal of money is required, not much imagination, no great intellect,— manly, womanly common sense is what is wanted by you and me to-day in these important matters that are left undone. There should be but one view about questions of this sort. We have got to act in concert here.

Those who have the energy to discuss the questions we have in hand, I cannot think will turn away from this most obvious difficulty. If this had lasted for centuries, if it had come down to us in Chinese fashion, and been taught in our public schools, there might seem to be some reason for falling down before the golden calf, it might seem to have an almost sacred character. But since it is not of such long standing, cannot we deal with this difficulty as it should be dealt with? Then we should not always have to discuss it when we come to a Conference, when we discuss poorhouses and insane asylums, etc. The closing of avenues to appointments except by examination has worked well. I am glad England is clearing herself of her reproach and setting an example.

Mr. Barbour.— In connection with civil service, we have an opportunity to work for a definite result in regard to one office. We all know that the sheriff in each county in the United States is the keeper of the jail. Who ever heard in this broad land of a sheriff being elected because he knew anything about that business? If we will, by legislation, provide for a keeper of the jail who shall be appointed by the circuit judge to hold office during good behavior, and let the sheriff have the emoluments of the office coming from collection of fees, and the jailer have control of and provision for the inmates of the jail, there will be a solution of one of the difficulties that have given more trouble than anything else connected with this work,— the rotation in office of sheriffs and the keeping of the jails.

At the close of the discussion of the subject of the evening, Mr. C. S. Loch, of England, and Dr. Jules Morel, of Belgium, were elected honorary members of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

President Wright announced the Conference Committees on Organization, Resolutions, and Time and Place of Next Meeting. These committees were as follows:—

On Organization.—L. C. Storrs, Michigan; Mrs. J. S. Sperry, Colorado; Dr. George H. Knight, Connecticut; H. W. Lewis, District of Columbia; George W. Curtis, Illinois; Ernest Bicknell, Indiana; B. J. Miles, Iowa; A. O. Hill, Kentucky; John M. Glenn, Maryland; George W. Johnson, Massachusetts; J. F. Jackson, Minnesota; L. D. Drake, Missouri; J. P. Heberd, Nebraska; Mrs. E. E. Williamson, New Jersey; W. P. Letchworth, New York; Joseph P. Byers, Ohio; R. D. McGonnigle, Pennsylvania; H. B. Warner, Wisconsin; C. J. Atkinson, Ontario.

On Resolutions.—T. J. Charlton, Indiana; Mrs. Anne B. Richardson, Massachusetts; F. H. Nibecker, Pennsylvania; S. J. Hathaway, Ohio; N. S. Rosenau, New York.

On Time and Place of Next Meeting.—Judge M. D. Follett, Ohio; E. Carl Bank, California; Mrs. Izetta George, Colorado; Charles P. Kellogg, Connecticut; Frederick L. Moore, District of Columbia; Dr. Arthur R. Reynolds, Illinois; Timothy Nicholson, Indiana; Miss Marion E. Starr, Iowa; C. E. Faulkner, Kansas; C. J. Fallen, Kentucky; M. Heymann, Louisiana; Miss Emma W. Gilbert, Missouri; Charles A. Jessup, Maryland; Dr. J. L. Hildreth, Massachusetts; William Chamberlain, Michigan; W. W. Folwell, Minnesota; Rev. L. P. Ludden, Nebraska; Miss Louise L. Houghton, New York; J. W. Walk, Pennsylvania; L. Ellsworth, Wisconsin; J. J. Kelso, Ontario; Miss E. G. Suydam, New Jersey; C. B. Denson, North Carolina.

FOURTH SESSION.

Saturday Morning, June 6.

The first business was the reading of invitations to the Conference from various cities for the meeting of 1897. Invitations were read from Denver, Col.; New Orleans, La.; Topeka, Kan.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Toronto, Ont.

Subject, "Chronic Insane Poor."

Report of committee by Dr. Samuel Bell, Michigan (page 176).

Paper by Dr. O. R. Long, Ionia, Mich., on "Care of the Criminal Insane" (page 196).

Paper by Dr. Jules Morel, Ghent, Belgium, on "Observations as an Alienist for Five Years in the Belgium Prisons." Read by F. B. Sanborn, of Massachusetts (page 190).

DISCUSSION.

Mr. WILLIAM CHAMBERLAIN, Jackson, Mich. — The admirable papers that have just been read to us suggest many questions for thought to those who have charge of criminals. In the Michigan State Prison there are confined an average of eight hundred men. We have, from time to time, men who become insane. To determine whether they are feigning insanity or not is sometimes a difficult question. There have come under my charge, during the last two years, a few cases of feigned insanity, which have been dealt with in the prison successfully and fully restored to normal condition; but there are a large number that it is difficult to determine what shall be done with. Under the law of our State, the prison physician is authorized to determine as to the sanity or the insanity of the criminal. The State having provided an asylum for the criminal insane, the surgeon is authorized to transfer the criminal to that institution, where he remains until discharged; or, if cured, he is returned to the prison for the remaining portion of his sentence. There are some cases that have been under my notice where this transfer had been made several times, showing there are periods when men are disturbed and require restraint or special treatment; for this reason, we find that the asylum for criminal insane is a very necessary thing for those who have charge of our penal institutions. It sometimes tries the patience of the officials to know what shall be done, even after the physician may have pronounced upon the case; but the State having recognized and made provision for the insane class, the first thing to be done after the man is brought to the prison is to look after his physical condition and properly care for it, and also for his mental condition; and it is the duty of the officials of these institutions to look carefully after these important matters. In the history of the prison for some years past there have been men sent there who, on their trial, feigned insanity, and it was claimed that when the act was committed they were insane. In one or two cases of that sort which have occurred in this State during this time, men have been convicted, sentenced, and imprisoned. After having been under prison discipline for a short time, all appearance of insanity disappeared.

Dr. WILLIAM M. EDWARDS, Kalamazoo, Mich.—I have been very

much delighted with the papers read. During my time of service in the Asylum for the Insane at Coldwater, the first two years we received in that institution the insane from the State prison at Jackson. I had some opportunity for observing the working of the hospitals. The asylum for the criminal insane was opened ten years ago, and we transferred thirty patients at that time. In the wards where these persons were kept there was a marked relief immediately after the transfer. There were a number of points touched upon by Dr. Long that I most heartily concur with. One was the idea of greater restraint. I think the degree to which restraint has been abolished since the transfer of criminals shows such transfer to be an important factor in doing away with mechanical restraints. An asylum for the criminal insane must be constructed on different principles from that for the ordinary insane. Another thing: the presence of the criminal insane tends to restrict that individual treatment that is so potent a factor in the cure of curable cases. Shortly before I went to Coldwater an assistant physician had melancholia. I think that incident largely influenced the people of the State to establish a separate institution. If a patient in either of our State institutions manifests unmistakable homicidal tendencies (not necessarily amounting to the act), on application of the superintendent of the asylum to the Board of Corrections and Charities, they hear the case, and decide what they will recommend. If they recommend to the governor that the patient be transferred, the governor issues an order to that effect. The asylums of the State have taken advantage of that law a number of times. I don't know whether that pertains to other asylums than that of the criminal insane, or not.

Dr. LONG.—In reference to Dr. Morel's paper, I think it is diametrically opposed to my position. He speaks of a commission of alienists to examine all the prisoners committed to his institutions. If the person appears insane, they give the medical man in charge instructions as to that particular case. The commissions of alienists only examine the patient, and commit him to the care of the person in charge of the prison. I hardly think that desirable. When a man is sent to prison for some offence, and very soon after is sent to the asylum, it raises the question whether the man was responsible for the criminal act. It excuses the man, to a large extent, for the act he was committed for. It is a benefit to the reputation of the man. As to the more expensive care, that is a question I must admit. As to the failures being numerous, my experience does not warrant that conclusion. The average prisoner knows his time in the asylum is not controlled by the sentence; that is, if the person in charge should see fit to apply for retention, he can be retained. He knows that the warden of the prison is obliged to discharge him when the sentence expires. Many fear to enter the asylum lest they be retained beyond the time.

Saturday Afternoon.

G. W. JOHNSON, Brookfield, Mass., Chairman State Board Lunacy and Charity.— About 1888 the State of Massachusetts made provision for building an asylum in connection with the State Farm at Bridgewater. That was built with partial reference to care of the insane young. Subsequently it was found that the buildings were not of sufficient strength to be exclusively devoted to that purpose, and about 1891 an additional appropriation was made by the State for furnishing a complete asylum (hospital) for the care of the insane, and since that time it has been used as such; and the provisions of law now are to the effect that all the inmates of the State prison who are found to be insane, whether previously to the crime or subsequently developed, shall be removed to that building, where they have regular hospital treatment. It is under the care of a medical director and subject to the laws of our superintendent of the workhouse, and we have considered the care there equal in every respect to the care in the regular hospitals.

PRESIDENT WRIGHT.— Wisconsin, on my recommendation, is beginning something in this line by setting apart one ward, to which our criminal insane are being transferred as fast as possible. I hope this will be the germ of a special asylum for the criminal insane. I want to state a few cases that will throw some light on the subject. Here is a man for nearly thirty years the dread of one of the insane hospitals of our State. He has been in the annex to the back ward, and never during that time has been allowed to go at all abroad, even in that ward, except under the observance of two stalwart attendants, and never has the physician ventured to go to that ward without at least one stalwart attendant. Think what the removal of that one man to that institution is! Here is a boy who was working for a farmer in Wisconsin some years ago. One morning the farmer called his little child to breakfast and the hired man was sent to get him; but the child wasn't found until they went into the barn and found the little boy, three or four years old, had been cut all to pieces by this hired man. The farmers were near lynching him. He was sent to prison for life. After a time he was discovered to be insane. He was transferred to one of the insane hospitals, where he is hopelessly insane. Here is a case illustrating another phase. Some years ago a man was about to be sentenced for murder. He was pronounced insane, and sent to one of our insane asylums. He was discharged, after a time, as recovered. He went back home, hung around saloons, said he had a list of seven men he was going to kill,— the chief of police being one,— naming the men. He kept drinking, making himself insane again through drink, and one day, in the heat of the presidential campaign, right under the electric light, on the street, when over a thousand men were in line, right in view, he stepped up to the man in charge

of the procession (one of the seven) and killed him. He was hung by a mob that night. They said he was too dangerous to be at large. and had better be killed at once. In the State prison of Wisconsin, for a few years, there was a man kept in close confinement in a cell all that time, because he had a delusion that he must become a Free Mason, and in order to be eligible he must kill seven men. He had already killed three and must kill four more, no matter who. One day the deputy warden took him out for exercise, and he took a stone and struck the deputy warden on the head. Every State prison, except where there is separate provision, has a number of persons that must be kept in close confinement. They ought to be in close confinement, under supervision, but not like that. I was very much interested in the special arrangements I saw at the State institution in Minnesota. I think, on the whole, that is as good an arrangement as there is. The institution at Ionia, Mich., is admirably conducted. Every State ought to have separate institutions for the criminal insane and the absolutely dangerous.

Dr. HILDRETH.— From the paper there would seem to be more recoveries of the criminal than the ordinary insane.

Mr. F. B. SANBORN.— The criminal insane include a considerable number of different classes. The largest single class, melancholics, are more curable than the general mass of the insane; but the dangerous persons to whom Mr. Wright has referred may be considered as practically incurable. I think Dr. Long was under a slight misapprehension as to the service of the prisons in Belgium. One physician could not reside in the ten prisons in his charge all at once unless, as the Irishman said, "he was a bird." Therefore, I understand that in Ghent Dr. Morel visits daily, and in the other prisons from time to time. I do not understand that he turns over the whole care of the prisoners whom he believes to be insane to the care of the prison physician: he gives directions from time to time concerning those. I think we have no exact example of this in this country. In Massachusetts, however, in our prison for women, among three hundred more or less, there are always cases of insanity or maladies that may result in insanity. Within a few weeks our Superintendent there has expressed the opinion that there should be special care on the spot for the insane women, for the reasons alleged by Dr. Morel. I think the opportunity for the patient to have better care than in large hospitals is one of the advantages of the Belgian system. In that country hospitals are mostly large, while the prisons are not all large. It is better to treat the patient in a small prison than in a large asylum. This seems to me a kind of experiment that will need to be variously tried in different countries, as circumstances vary. In the most complete statement ever written concerning the criminal and dangerous insane in Massachusetts, Dr. A. B. Harrington, physician to the Bridgewater asylum, shows, step by step, how the State has proceeded until it has finally established

the convict asylum at Bridgewater. He closes his paper with a recommendation, in which he is joined by the society to which he read it and the superintendents of the State asylums, that there should be a separate establishment for the criminal insane. The establishment of our asylum was delayed, I suppose, about ten years by that question of mingling in the really dangerous. The Board of State Charities took up that matter before Mr. Johnson came upon the Board, recommending the establishment of a separate asylum. The physicians generally who came before the legislative committee were found to have such differences of opinion that the committee adjourned, saying, "When you can agree among yourselves, we will consider it." We decided that the question could be settled best by experiment, and we let the building at Bridgewater be used specially for the criminal insane; yet the first persons sent there were not criminal insane except in a small degree. Finally, the buildings were assigned to the criminal insane; and the result was so good that the legislature, spite of the differences of opinion that still existed, did establish a criminal asylum there under the law.

A paper on "Care of Epileptics," by W. P. Letchworth, was read (page 199).

DISCUSSION ON EPILEPSY.

Dr. HILDRETH.—I became much interested several years ago in the subject of epilepsy, largely because I found dispensary treatment of such cases very unsatisfactory. I was induced to take a few epileptics in the hospital by seeing the good results in London, as compared with the work outside. The physician, of course, ordinarily sees these cases earlier, and has no difficulty in recognizing their true nature; but he has a great deal of difficulty in his methods of treatment. Because of these difficulties and because the results are so unsatisfactory, it has always seemed to me the treatment by the State was of great advantage. Some member of the family would bring the patient to the dispensary, and describe the troubles that had been going on some time. He would be told the treatment must be long continued, perhaps some two or three years after the patient seems well. The poor get much discouraged at such a statement. They drift about a great deal. Whether they go to the physician at the hospital or to the general practitioner, they neglect the treatment, do not look after the diet or exercise, do not see that the patient is properly taken care of, do not report as they should; and it is hard to get these people to continue to bring patients to the hospital or the dispensary for treatment. They do not see great results at first, and cannot be made to continue. Almost all these patients, if taken in the beginning and put under special treatment

in the hospital, where diet could be regulated. and habits looked after, and medicine given regularly, might get well, if under twenty years of age. Another decided advantage of hospital over general practice is that many of them may be traumatic cases, susceptible of surgical benefit. For those reasons, if for no other, it seems to me that hospital care for epileptics is one of our greatest needs. Massachusetts has appropriated money, appointed a board of trustees, and pretty nearly completed plans for a hospital on the cottage plan. I am very sure the expense and trouble to the State will be well repaid.

Dr. EDWARDS.— In the Michigan asylum of 1,195 patients not quite ten per cent. were epileptics. We have only had operations in one or two instances where it was supposed to be traumatic epilepsy, the result of injury to the skull. I remember very well Dr. Bloomer, of Minnesota State Hospital, telling of a series of cases where they operated; and, had the patient been discharged at the end of two months, they would have called each one a recovery, but at the end of five months all the cases had relapses. I spoke to the doctor a few days ago, and he said the results from operations on the skull were negative. Dr. J. William White (Philadelphia), in a series of reports, gave encouragement that much could be done; but the most that we can expect is from diet and the line of treatment mentioned in Mr. Letchworth's paper.

Dr. W. A. GORDON, Wisconsin.— One-sixth of the inmates of the institution where I am are epileptic. I think it doubtful if any genuine case of epilepsy is cured. At our institution in Winnebago ten or twelve years ago we had a man twenty-five years old, very robust and full-blooded, and I bled him. I took about twenty ounces of blood one day, and repeated at intervals of two months,— bled three times. At the end of seven months he had not had a convulsion, and was sent home perfectly rational. Before that bleeding he had convulsions once in perhaps two or three weeks. I have tried it in several cases. Of course, when an epileptic is ænemic, not robust, I would not recommend it; but in the full-blooded it seems to have good effect. Any new treatment, for the time being, is good. The surgeons were going to cure all cases of epilepsy a few years ago; but they have given it up. That epilepsy is discouraging is shown by the very fact that we find so many treatments tried. Of course, if it comes from injury to the skull or the effects of a blow, there will be cases permanently cured by taking out the bone and relieving the brain. The use of tobacco, tea, coffee, and meat seems very bad. I don't know why we should have separate institutions for epilepsy any more than for tuberculosis or some other terrible disease. It seems to be a tendency of modern times to look after those unfortunate ones properly entitled to our sympathy; but I have more sympathy for those paupers for whom nothing is done. It is perhaps well the State should undertake to cure this class of people in

separate institutions; perhaps it would be well to have separate institutions for the cure of St. Vitus's dance and locomotor ataxia. Take the whole line of nervous diseases, there is no place to stop. If parents of epileptics will not follow the advice of a regular physician, perhaps it is well that the State should force them into institutions; but if it is going to be done with all chronic nervous diseases, there will probably be no limit to the nervous institutions. So far as epilepsy is concerned, I am sorry to say it stands where it has stood for centuries,— a problem for physicians.

Mr. SANBORN.— I had the pleasure of a conversation with Dr. Drury, First Assistant Physician in the hospital at Petersburg, Va., and who is responsible for the erection of the separate asylum in that State for epileptics. He has had about eight hundred patients in the asylum, all colored. He said there were about one hundred epileptics. That is a much larger proportion, I think, than ordinarily is found in hospitals for white people. It surprised me, because I had been inclined to think that, as the colored people had shown themselves less liable to insanity, they were probably less liable to epilepsy. Dr. Drury says quite the contrary, and several Southern physicians confirm him,— Dr. Powell, of Georgia, and several others. They also say that insanity and other forms of nervous diseases are rapidly increasing among colored people. That, of course, raises a serious question in that part of the country. In the case of epilepsy, as in other diseases, there are distinct cases (fully established) to be regarded as incurable, and there are certain forms of simple epilepsy that can be cured. Dr. Gordon, in speaking of the responsibility of the State for caring for special diseases, is, I think, correct in principle, but I speak of epileptics of such character that the same obligation rests upon the State as in case of the insane. So many evils are involved in their neglect it is absolutely necessary for the State to take them up. I think Massachusetts made a serious mistake in establishing the hospital for tuberculosis persons. I tried to prevent it and to show it was contrary to public welfare. Under our Massachusetts policy the State should only interfere with regard to paupers. Self-supporting persons, and even the indigent, have no claim on the State for the cure of tuberculous diseases. When we once begin there is nowhere to stop, and the tendency nowadays to throw so much upon the State treasury seems unfortunate.

Dr. POLGLASE, Lapeer, Mich.— I was much interested in the strictures of Dr. Gordon, especially on the care of these cases. It would hardly be proper for me to discuss epilepsy in relation to the insane, not having full knowledge; but the State has opened an institution for the care and study of such cases, also of the feeble-minded. At the present time we have none except those developing feebleness of mind since we took them. As in all other institutions not under the care of specialists, it was utterly impossible for us to take care of them properly, according to the best methods, outside

of purely medical treatment, and we simply established a rule to bar out until the proper buildings should be provided. We have aided two hundred feeble-minded of all classes. We have endeavored to carry out the idea of the State, by taking the mixed class. Most of the institutions are training-schools. We attempt to take the child from the youngest possible age and train the boys up to the eighteenth year, with the idea of making them self-supporting. We do not have them do the hardest work. Previously, they never became self-supporting. No feeble-minded child should be brought into the world. The State must take care of them. The propagation of that class of people means defects, always. I would not care to take one chance in a thousand. It is political economy to take that class of people right out of the general run of people and care for them. They propagate like rabbits. The two questions of extended care or unsexing are the two questions confronting the profession. If you are going to make the feeble-minded self-supporting, you must unsex them. If you turn them loose, it means more feeble-minded, more epileptics, more insane.

In regard to epilepsy, you strike at an unknown force, not only as to cause, but treatment. That has been our experience. When you come into the line of diseases called mental, you come into the field of the psychical, where there are secrets that we don't know anything about, though there may be undiscovered psychical laws. There are all sorts of theories. With the experience I have had of some dozen or more years, I am almost as much at sea in regard to treatment as at the beginning. I believe, however, in taking epileptics like the feeble-minded, — most of them are feeble-minded. Epileptics are usually physically perfect. A young man applies for a position in any line of work, and when it becomes known that he is an epileptic, nobody wants him. They want reliable people, not those liable to fall into a fit. If they cannot be made self-sustaining, to separate them is not only political economy but a bettering of the human race, and I hope in the very near future the State will attempt to do something in that line. We simply await the action of the legislature. We have a building coming to us next year, valued at some $18,000. The State has been niggardly in regard to our matters. They gave us a building at the last moment; they allowed us to draw quarterly. I urged the Board to make this building specially an epileptic college. We are now making arrangements and drawing plans. I believe in our State institutions which have to do with the cure of any of these diseases pathological study should be a separate and particular part. If there is anything in this thing, if it is possible for us to know of the conditions, locally, we must study them closely and have all the scientific apparatus for the study, and give much time to it. I believe there is something in it yet undiscovered. It seems to me the study of nervous diseases in that direction specially should interest us to-day. All that is known of human brains has been learned

within the last twenty years, and if epilepsy is only a mental or combined mental and physical condition, it is best studied by taking them together.

Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell.— The gentleman just speaking has touched a point which I would like to speak of. It has seemed to me possible that the study of epilepsy scientifically by scientists has never been carried on as it should be before, because the epileptics in our institutions are always secondary. We have a few in the insane asylum, but the treatment of insanity has had the first claim. The feeble-minded and epileptics are put off with such treatment as they can get. A great many epileptics are going to be sent to us, there is no escaping from it. They will get into the poorhouses for the reasons discussed, that they cannot get employment. Everybody is afraid of them. They demoralize the whole administration of the poorhouse; they violate all the rules, break down discipline in any institution where they are mingled with other persons amenable to discipline. If we must support them we ought to get them all together under one management at a special institution where they can have scientific study. It is a question, of course, how near to self-supporting a colony of epileptics may be made; but many of them are strong, vigorous, and the great majority have sound minds, or minds reasonably strong; so it would seem that by managing them properly they could receive all the medical attention necessary and yet be employed in useful and helpful occupations that would make them comparatively self-supporting. I believe it advisable. I believe it is the thing we are going to do. I do not think the point holds good that Dr. Gordon made about letting down bars for the State to take care of all chronic or other troubles, — because of the way in which these people are retarded now from exercising their powers of mind and body in self-support. It seems to me the arguments, aside from medical treatment, are sound for the State taking hold of the matter.

Mr. Letchworth. — I wish I could have presented in the paper I read this morning some points that I see would have borne on the discussion. It seems to me desirable for the State to maintain separate provision for epileptic classes. In some parts of the world provision for State care is made by private benevolence. This has begun in a small way in Maryland and Pennsylvania. I question whether any State can do this work as well as it is done in Germany, under private benevolence, and as begun in England. As we look at statistics in some of the States, the condition appeals very strongly to our sympathies, especially as to the sane epileptic. To put him into the insane asylum seems sad. The question will arise as to whether sane epileptics should be provided for in institutions separate from the insane. As far as I can learn, the superintendents of the hospitals mostly believe in removal from State hospitals. There are others who think the insane epileptics should be provided for in

the insane hospital, but in separate departments, as is done in the best asylums now, — that there should be separate provision for sane epileptics, and that when sane ones become insane they should be transferred to the insane asylum. I understand that is the basis of the Massachusetts procedure. Where care and attention are given to these cases, you would be surprised by the contrast with their condition in the poorhouses. The first thing the doctor does is to improve the health of the patient and then to give employment; the kind of employment is tested by experiment, and a record is kept of the number of seizures under each. There is an increase in weight all the way to seventeen pounds in two or three months.

DISCUSSION ON THE WISCONSIN SYSTEM OF CARING FOR THE INSANE.

Dr. HILDRETH.— Our people in Massachusetts look upon Wisconsin as one of the model States. Yet along with Wisconsin I would rank Massachusetts. A notable work is going on there, and the patients have good care. One of the first books I read when I came upon the State Board was the Life of Dorothea Dix, who wrought so great a work throughout the Union in calling public attention to the condition of the insane. I was much surprised by her description of our institutions as they were fifty years ago. To-day we are in Massachusetts confronted by several problems. One relates to the great number of patients who need to be provided for in asylums. Our hospitals are filled to their utmost capacity. The coming year we shall complete the buildings for a new institution at Medford. When this hospital was planned a few years ago, the question was earnestly debated whether it should be for curables or for the incurables. There was quite a unanimous feeling among those in charge of our hospitals that an asylum for the chronic insane would be desirable. But the movement now is in favor of using this hospital for the curables, the superintendents being less anxious for setting apart a hospital for chronic patients, when there are so many in the acute stage that need to be cared for. Another problem that we need to solve is that of care for the insane poor in almshouses, by the selectmen of small towns. Some philanthropic people felt there were a great many abuses, and that our Board should do something toward removing the evil. The law of Massachusetts does not allow the pauper insane to be taken directly to almshouses. They are to go to the hospital first, and cannot be transferred from hospitals to almshouses or back to the towns responsible for their maintenance until they have been in the hospital some time. Many cities and towns are desirous to take care of such people, especially if they get those they want. Many patients do a great deal toward taking care of themselves and are not much trouble; and they can be cared for at

$3.25. We have inspectors, both men and women, to visit all the insane people, those boarded out in cities and towns and in State hospitals, and they make regular reports to the Board, which are placed on file in our office. We thought we should have a special inspector to make more thorough examination, and we spent considerable time to secure the services of a suitable man. He began two or three months ago to visit all the insane under the care of the selectmen of the town, whether boarded out or in poorhouses or in State asylums or institutions of any kind, so that a complete history of everything pertaining to the individuals might be made of record. He is at work now. When the report is completed and before us, we shall consider what it is best to do. We expect it will require from six to twelve months. I felt that we wanted the facts before making recommendations to the legislature. I have heard so much about the Wisconsin method and felt it was so reasonable, because it seemed humane, economical, and satisfactory, that, had the weather been cool and comfortable, I should have accepted an invitation to see for myself the working of the law in your State.

Mr. E. P. Bicknell, Indianapolis.—I do not think the problem is different from what it is in most of the other States. We have the same old question to be answered,—how to raise the money, complete the buildings, and meet the running expenses. The course of legislation clear back has been in the direction of State care. We have four insane hospitals containing to-day about three thousand patients; we have seven hundred in the poorhouses, a few in jails, and many awaiting admission. There are applications on file, with no room to admit, to the extent of several hundreds. Extensions are being made to our hospitals, with an appropriation of $10,000 given by the legislature two years ago,—all they felt they could give for poorhouses and hospitals. In 1885 there was an appropriation of $500,000 for insane hospitals, increased by the succeeding legislature; and, as a consequence of that legislation, we have used more than $500,000 for new insane hospitals, and are to-day as I have described. Whether the State will follow the plan Mr. Heg has so eloquently described is the question we shall have to meet before long. Until 1885 we had one insane hospital, containing about fifteen hundred patients, always filled; and when a new patient came in, it was simply because one had gone out the day before and made room. The one that went out usually went to the poorhouse. When they built the new one they made a law that a patient cannot be discharged unless he is cured. They started out beautifully. The first year, a few remained in; the second year the chronics of the first year remained, and the second year's addition came in, so now it is the poorhouses that contain the acute cases, and the hospitals the chronic insane. We have got to go down into our pockets and spend money constantly. Our law says, send the chronic insane to the poorhouses, or adopt some other system. It is a

dilemma with three horns. The people in Indiana are waking up to the fact that something must be done. What is it?

The CHAIR.— The condition is somewhat similar in our State. I think the joint boards of the asylums passed a resolution some time ago that one thousand was the limit, and the present asylum should not be enlarged.

A. J. SAWYER, Pontiac.— Of course I cannot question the phenomenal success following the county system of Wisconsin. It does not occur to me, however, that that success would necessarily follow everywhere. We have had the county system in Michigan. I think that is the case in most of the States. The States have abandoned the county system, because it was discovered that gross abuses were practised in the county asylums; and it seemed, I believe, to the people of this State who considered the matter, that it was practically impossible to get the counties of this State to carry out the necessary requirements. It seems to me that to maintain proper asylums in each of those counties would be very much more expensive than our present system. The Board of Charities and Corrections, or some other persons, must visit frequently. It seems in Wisconsin they have gone back to this system, and it has succeeded admirably. I do not see any encouragement in Michigan, nor any reason why we may not expect to meet with the same abuses we had before. We have four State insane asylums, aside from our criminal insane. Of course they must be maintained. They are very nearly sufficient for the care of our insane in the State, and while I think the chairman was right in saying the joint board expressed the opinion that the capacity of one thousand was large enough, yet we are not, I think, tied to that. We have got to meet the question, "What shall we do with the insane?" and our present capacity is not equal to the present demand. We have got to build either another State asylum, or enlarge the present asylums, or return to some other system. I would like to hear some expression from this Conference as to what should be the capacity. We know there are some with capacity for twenty-five hundred or more. So far as I am informed they are well managed, and there are no serious results from the larger number. We can have detached buildings, if necessary, as easily as the county can. The building now and then of another detached building, to accommodate fifty to a hundred patients, seems to me the cheapest way to take care of the chronic insane population. Those buildings cost no more than they cost in the county. The patients can go there when required, and they can get the benefit of chapel services and amusements in the assembly hall. They get the benefits of the entire medical staff. The Wayne Asylum, Detroit, is admirable. The county is large enough to maintain a sufficient one. I think the State made a mistake in establishing that; it was a bad precedent; there is nothing to hinder other counties from asking like privileges, and it seems to me the tendency will be to leave only

the poorer counties to look after the State asylum. We must continue to have State asylums, and they must be maintained. If we return to the county system, it seems to me we have two antagonistic systems.

Mr. SANBORN.— If my old teacher of logic is correct, my friend who has just sat down either does not believe Mr. Heg's paper or does not think the people of Michigan are equal to the people of Wisconsin in managing county affairs. In regard to Mr. Bicknell's observation on the state of things in Indiana, I do not know any State that has existed fifty years that has ever been able to provide for even a single year, fully, in its institutions for the insane. You cannot build asylums without using money. The State will not appropriate it. You cannot provide for the annual increase of the insane in large State establishments. We are arguing away from the practical subject of county care as compared with State care. If we have never visited such institutions, let us cross the lake and judge for ourselves as to the correctness of Mr. Heg's statements. I have been there twice within the last three or four years to inspect. I had already seen a good many State and county asylums, and I became satisfied that, so long as the administration by the State Board in Wisconsin continued to be vigilant, the system of county care in Wisconsin was better than the system of care in any State. The later asylums in all cases are better built and in some cases better equipped, and the system has a great advantage over any system known to me for providing sensibly, economically, and humanely for the natural, inevitable increase of insanity. I suppose the State of Michigan has as good large asylums as any in the country; but in asylums for more than five hundred,— running to twenty-five hundred or thereabouts,— the great majority being poor people, you take away the relations of family and neighbor, so essential to the happiness of the sane or the insane. Friends cannot travel to visit the insane, persons really interested in their insane relatives cannot have much to do with them without sacrifice of their own prospects in life, and they are gradually thrown wholly upon the public. The sane are relieved from duties which commonly belong to them, but they are obliged to toil to pay the cost of supporting the insane in large asylums at from a dollar to two dollars a week more than it would cost in small asylums managed as are the Wisconsin asylums. The system there has been in force some fifteen years. It provides shelter for every insane person in the State without the delay of years to complete an enormous caravansary like our Medford asylum, and it costs much less. You ought at least to visit Wisconsin and see what is going on there, and I venture to say that if you do, your difficulties of theory will disappear. I have since seen a good many institutions, and, with the exception of Scotland (which has a better system of laws,— quite as well administered),— with that single exception Wisconsin has the best the world can show at this moment, decidedly better than Massachusetts

has. I assert it is better than Michigan, better than Germany, with the single exception of an asylum in the province of Saxony, which is better than any American asylum.

Dr. EDWARDS.— I was very much interested in the paper read by Mr. Heg. I have heard much of the Wisconsin asylums and I regret never having had opportunity to visit them. At Coldwater we have the cottage colony system, as it may be called. Three hundred patients live in cottages two miles and a half from the main asylum, on farms. I do not believe our patients in the cottages differ very much from those in the Wisconsin county asylums. We selected the cases, and I take it the cases in the Wisconsin county asylums are selected, from the fact that only about 60 per cent. are in the county asylums, patients requiring no special watching, nursing, or medical attention. It is a good deal like the man who went to buy a horse, and, after recounting all the virtues the horse must possess, the dealer said, "I see, you want a horse that will take care of itself"; and he answered, "No, I want a horse that will take care of me." So, in these institutions for the chronic insane, I think they are largely selected because they can take care of themselves, and, to a great extent, of the State. Our patients in the cottages at Coldwater are largely of that type.

QUESTION.— Do you think patients in the cottages are benefitted more than in the main institution?

Dr. EDWARDS.— In certain cases I think the patients are benefitted by residing in the cottages, but there is no more tendency, particularly, to recovery. They are more comfortable and have greater freedom, more of the home life. We keep something like a hundred cows that are taken care of by patients. Of course the patients are largely allowed to do as in Wisconsin.

Dr. GORDON.— About ten years ago we had capacity for more than belonged to the county. The State Board of Charities at that time looked out for homes for chronic cases belonging to other counties and had them transferred to whatever county institutions had room for them. We received seven from Dunham County. Those were picked cases. I attended a council at Madison, and at the hotel I heard the remark of the assistant physician that they had been having a clearing out and had sent seven of their worst cases down to the eastern part of the State. I said, "Yes, you are right." He asked if I knew anything about it, and I said I had been superintendent about four years and those seven were certainly some of the worst I ever knew. I do not think that has been the case lately. We have some belonging to counties that have no institution for chronic insane, or have not room; but only those seven, I think, were "picked."

Mr. SAWYER.— I simply wished to say that we have what seems a perfect system that I do not think could be improved, and I do not think we could do better by changing to another. If we could, I should be glad to go to Wisconsin and learn.

FIFTH SESSION.

Saturday Night, June 6.

Subject, "Juvenile Reformatories."

Report of the committee, by F. H. Briggs, Rochester, N.Y., Chairman.

Paper by Doctor George W. Goler, Rochester, N.Y., on "The Juvenile Delinquent: The Causes that produce Him; The Evolution of Modern Methods for His Reformation" (page 352).

DISCUSSION.

Mr. Briggs.—During the past year there has been some discussion in the newspapers and magazines concerning juvenile reformatories. One writer in particular, Josiah Flynt, I believe, said that juvenile reformatories are nurseries of the tramps of the country. It is very easy to generalize,— to say that, because one bank cashier who is a member of a church has embezzled, therefore all bank cashiers who are members of churches are embezzlers. It is quite as logical as to assert that because a few boys who have been in juvenile reformatories become tramps, therefore juvenile reformatories are nurseries for tramps. From a record of one thousand fifty-three paroled boys of the State industrial school, Rochester, about ninety-five per cent. of those who became tramps were tramps before they came there. We cannot be held responsible. It cannot be truly said that the schools were the cause of those boys becoming tramps. It can simply be said that the short time we were permitted to keep those boys was not sufficient to enable us to overcome their nomadic habits. The tendency of the world at present is to make better use of one's products. A few years ago it was thought sufficient, if a boy was bad, to put him into a bad place for a while and then turn him out,— worse than when he went in. At present, in our juvenile reformatories, we are taking bad boys and training them to become good boys, training them to do a little better than they did. We are making a careful study of the causes that produce the juvenile delinquents, and it will be but a few years before we shall be able to teach the teachers of this country how to prevent juvenile delinquencies.

Mr. T. F. Chapin, Westborough.— In looking over my own school the past winter,— gathering together the information that came through my instructor in physical culture and my other teachers, to get at a number of markedly abnormal or degenerate types,— we sifted out about ten per cent. that were subjected to observation at the hands of an expert. The loss of parents, which has been alluded to, is a very fruitful source of the boy going wrong, without question.

I do not question the accuracy of the percentage there; I think it perhaps comes higher. Sensuality and want of restraint are also potent factors in bringing boys to a reform school. I am specially struck with the justness of the speaker's conclusions as to the effects of alcoholism. Without going into statistics, from my own record of boys coming to me I should say the record of Massachusetts runs considerably higher of those having one or both parents drinkers. I was extremely interested that the subject was brought up, and I sincerely hope that an effort will be made that we may have statistics showing how far disease is a predisposing cause toward crime. Old methods, by their very severity, often convince the boy that if he ever escape he will submit to all the pains and penalties of well-regulated society rather than return to the care of any institution, while the most thoughtful, intelligent, and continued training may leave the boy with a will utterly incompetent to withstand the surging tides of modern society. I believe the only way to improve the boy is by repeated imparting of the right thing. But the conditions of a reform school, in the best estate, are artificial; and the restraints, under the most tactful and sympathetic officers, are more obtrusive and resented more by the boy than the more onerous impositions of society. I am not here to defend old institutions. About the one which the speaker portrays I know absolutely nothing. I simply wish to protest that the picture is too dark a picture of the time of old institutions, that were then in a state of evolution while modern methods were impossible. I want to emphasize the importance of securing a better class of trained workers. As a rule, the workers are intelligent, conscientious men and women, but good will, good heart, industry and devotion cannot take the place of thorough training. I most heartily endorse and urge upon favorable consideration of every reform school superintendent and manager or trustee, the taking of immediate steps toward the early carrying out of some plan of observation by which data can be gathered from various States which shall lead to more scientific classification of the children committed to the care of the State by types of degeneracy or abnormality. The good results will make legislators willing to grant the necessary appropriations. New things must be undertaken at some sacrifice and cost.

Supt. F. H. Nibecker, Glen Mills, Pa. — It is a psychological reformation that must be recognized if we give the boy his due. The delinquent child in ninety-nine — perhaps a hundred cases — out of a hundred lacks absolutely anything like a true mental perception. He is mentally astigmatic, morally color-blind. His perception must be corrected so that he can see what an act really is, all there is in it; I do not mean the results, but the act itself. I have heard while here of a deaf and dumb child who brained a man with an axe, and saw only the cleaving, and did not see the killing. The street Arab sees only the ridiculous antics of the animal he tortures, he does not see the suffering. The child must be made to see the

whole of the act. The next thing is he must see the different ways of doing a thing, must be led to stop and think how many ways he can do this or that. In coming into contact with a good man or woman he sees what an act is. The moral perception is exceedingly complex as compared with the mental. He must be taught to reason. One right is right in Grand Rapids and another in the Transvaal. What is right in one place may be wrong in another. He has to be taught the distinctions of differences in society. We must teach the child to bear pain and condemnation. In the beginning it is by "the terrors of the law" "we persuade men." Now you have a boy who can see what is in the act, who knows what moral distinction is, and now he has to apply the moral distinction to the act and decide whether it is moral or immoral, and upon that decision his will is brought into action. He has got to be brought to that position; and, until he is, he is not responsible for his act. It is what has to be done every day of our lives. Of course we do not do it in such a bald way; but you have got to get the child to see where the moral distinction is,— put the two things together, and then require him to apply the power to decide the point of what is morally right or morally wrong. I could tell you of a boy who shot his cousin with a double-barrelled shot-gun,— shot him dead. I spent hours talking with him. He had no more perception of what he had done, nor as much, as a dog you have taught not to sleep on the sofa. When I had talked with him an hour about it he walked out as indifferently as when he came in. He afterward burned three thousand dollars' worth of property, and I thought, "Now I have got you"; but he thought nothing of that. When I got through he was restive because he hadn't been doing anything, and I was tired because I hadn't accomplished anything. So we find the moral sense must not be held responsible until it has been developed.

SIXTH SESSION.

Sunday Morning, June 7.

Annual Conference sermon in Park Congregational Church, by Professor Francis G. Peabody, of Cambridge, Mass. (page 414).

Services were conducted in many other churches in the city, at the same hour, by delegates to the Conference.

Sunday Afternoon.

Mass meeting in Lockerby Hall.

Subject, "Charity Organization."

Report of committee, by Philip W. Ayres, Chicago, Chairman (page 235)

Address by C. S. Loch, London, Eng. (page 243).

Address by Professor C. R. Henderson, Chicago, on "The Scope and Influence of a Charity Organization Society" (page 248).

Address by Miss Mary E. McDowell, Chicago, on "Friendly Visiting" (page 253).

SEVENTH SESSION.

Sunday Night, June 7.

Mass meeting in Lockerby Hall.

Subject, "Social Settlements and the Labor Question."

Address by Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Chicago, Chairman, on "What the Settlement Work stands for" (page 106).

Address by Dean George Hodges, Boston, on "Religion in Settlements" (page 150).

Address by John D. Flannigan, Grand Rapids, Mich., on "Benevolent Features of Trades-unions" (154).

Mr. ALEXANDER JOHNSON.— The National Conference stands for the work of caring for the defective and degenerate, which is work that every citizen ought to be much interested in. It needs help and sympathy from every citizen. It is largely done by men who serve the public, as public servants doing the work out of money paid by taxes, hard to pay, very often. The Conference comes to talk about the best way of doing certain things, the best way of helping certain classes of people who have to be helped, for we have them on our hands. Mr. Flanigan told you that charity (as the word is understood) possesses an immense power for evil. Probably nothing has a greater power for creating injustice. Yet we have to have it and make the best of it. About the end of the last century, in the country where I was born, the wealthier people, who controlled everything, established a vicious system to help the poor. There were hard times then, and they piled on taxes. They thought a man, wife, and three children ought to have $10 a week; and, if he could not earn it, they would give it to him; so a man who worked hard might earn $10 a week, and a man who was lazy and worked only part of the time earned $5 and had the rest given to him, and if he did not work at all, he got the whole. The amount of money wrung from the people to feed those persons (not mechanics, but agricultural laborers) amounted to such an enormous sum that thousands of acres of the best land in England went without cultivation because when it was not cultivated it was not taxed. That is a sample of the wicked things done in the name of charity, and when I hear my friend, Mr. Flanigan, and others say they "have no use for charity,"

I feel like saying, Amen. The charity we want to bring up is the helping of the defectives and degenerates. Speaking as an officer, I say to you citizens,— especially you of the labor unions,— we need you. I wish I had time to tell you how much we need you of the working people, for friendly visiting in large cities. There is nothing we need there so much. If you knew how much we need you on committees to help along the right kind of work, you would give the matter more attention; you would collect particulars through your unions. We have been hammering at churches a great many years, saying, "You are selfish; you don't care for anything but your own miserable souls." We have been hammering at them twenty-two years, and we are going to hammer at everybody we can reach, and now we say to the unions, "Take hold and help, because you are in a position where you don't realize what you might do."

Address by Mrs. Florence Kelley on "The Working Child" (page 161).

Address by Professor Graham Taylor, Chicago, on "The Settlement and the Labor Movement" (page 143).

EIGHTH SESSION.

Monday Morning, June 8.

Subject, "Scientific study of Social Problems."

Paper by Professor Charles H. Cooley, of Michigan University, on "'Nature *versus* Nurture' in the Making of Social Careers" (page 399).

DISCUSSION.

Prof. GRAHAM TAYLOR.— The subject has many phases and can be viewed from many points. I have just come from that most remarkable gathering for study of child nature recently held in Chicago under the direction of the National Normal School for three or four days, bringing together from all over the country those who have been pursuing most original researches in the study of child nature. Chief among them was Professor G. Stanley Hall of the Clark University of Worcester, probably the most expert observer of child nature in this country. I do not believe any one who heard those two or three addresses of his will ever forget the impression made. The emphasis was upon the importance of the primary training in the home. The fundamental basis laid for all education by the kindergarten movement was a most important subject. I believe the kindergarten movement is becoming the educational and

social school for our economic future. It seems to me the great point for the thoughtful and the observer. I agree perfectly with the paper as to the essentially moral nature of the vast proportion of men. Residence in the so-called sink-hole ward of Chicago has given me a higher confidence in human nature. I think no one can live long in those districts without coming also to the natural, though tremendously radical, conclusion that the social conditions have a great effect upon the moral character. I do not believe that nature, as it comes fresh from the hand of the Creator, can withstand the immoral influences that surround child life in the seventeenth ward, where our home is. I do not know what would become of any children just launched into the tenement life and the civic and economic conditions of that population. You may say, "Then why is it you are raising your own children there?" We are building up in the settlement a very different environment. I would not risk them without the social atmosphere to help keep up the standards to which we are accustomed. But, on the other hand, the study of these experts in criminal anthropology does give the definite hope that environment can and does modify the retarding influences. For instance, the imbecile child almost immediately responds to the better environment in expert schools for training the imbecile, and their type of imbecility is a better type because of the better environment. If not so, and those influences are useless, what is the use of saying or doing anything about it? There is use. I do not think that is mere sentimentality. I should like to transport you for a little while into the kindergarten in the basement of our settlement. I wish you could see there the young lady fresh from the Pestalozzi training-house, Berlin, who chose that district because she thought the methods would be likely to have there the best chance for success. I would like you to see the beginning of home-training and industrial habits in the little kitchen garden which the children have,— the preparation of vegetables for dinner, the wash-day for the doll baby's clothes, the house-cleaning, the washing of even the chairs, where you may hear one child say, "Teacher, can't us clean to-day?" and another, "This child is much bother to me 'cause she's so dirty," and another, "Teacher, may we go help mother get vegetables for dinner?" You would see that here is the basis upon which rests the proper study of government, the right kind of school education and the general matter of reforming environments. I wish that paper could be read in every theological seminary of the land.

Mr. N. S. Rosenau, New York.— Our great trouble, it seems to me, in reformatory work, is the lack of opportunity to discover what the nature is that we are going to deal with. A child is taken either from a police station or a special detention house for children, where one exists, and directly placed in an institution which has three or four hundred or twenty-five hundred inmates, and at once put under

the discipline of the institution, nobody knowing anything about that child's nature; and the institution is almost invariably so large that individualization in the treatment of the child is impossible. I have in my mind a plan which, while I am sure it is very Utopian and ideal, yet seems to me the only way in which we can create a basis for the proper treatment of delinquent children. I think there ought to be a transit house which should be under a person (the proper type would be the best kindergartner that ever lived) who knows how to decipher the nature of the child. The child should be allowed to run in the transit house, almost absolutely free of rules, so that his entire nature should be exhibited, and the study of his character should be scientifically carried on from day to day and the conclusions recorded; and after every little corner of the nature of the child had been discovered, the child and the conclusions of the head of the transit house should be together transmitted to the reformatory institution where their education and reformation should be carried on upon the basis of that study. The idea is crude, but it seems to me the great lack is opportunity to know what it is you are going to try to mould.

President WRIGHT.— I want to speak from a slightly different standpoint in relation to a different kind of defective classes. Take the idiots: their defect is of nature, and nurture cannot do much for them. If their condition is hereditary or congenital, it is practically the same thing. Many of them are idiots because of idiotic or feeble-minded ancestry,— fully one-half,— and the other half acquired it at or before the time of birth. Many parents say their children had scarlet fever or something of that kind in early infancy which caused it, and we allow that to stand; but infantile idiocy must be classed with genuine idiocy for all practical purposes. The amount of training that can be given to idiots of various grades, from the absolutely unteachable to the high grade of feeble mind, is comparatively small. It is now recognized by superintendents of those institutions that out of all sent to them, including quite a number of those just on the border line, only a small number in each become both self-supporting and self-directing, and therefore fit to take part in the ordinary work of life outside of the institution. So much for the idiots. In their case it is nature that controls, and nurture can do little indeed. So far as the insane are concerned, the statistics of insane hospitals of course are not altogether reliable, for the reason that the facts must be got from more or less incompetent witnesses,— relatives and acquaintances and others by no means always skilful observers; and the collections of facts, perhaps, are not complete. But when you find in an insane hospital three or four relatives at once, it is a fair conclusion that there is an hereditary taint in that family. The statistics show that probably about one-half of the insane are so because of hereditary taint. Many of the other causes are preventable. If people could do away with

worry, in our civilization, and with all vice and all extreme poverty, I am sure we should do away with a considerable portion of insanity. Environment comes in to produce insanity; and yet I say that fully one-half of the insane are so from hereditary tendencies, both physical and moral.

Mr. SAVAGE.— When we come to prisoners, there is a percentage of prisoners in the State prisons who are criminals by hereditary tendencies, and you cannot exactly draw the line in those cases between insanity and criminality. The remarkable statistics lately given by a Pennsylvania penitentiary for five or six years, the best statistics of any in the United States, show that when a number of persons in the same family are inmates of the same institution, that does not necessarily indicate heredity: it may be that environment or circumstances have led them into it. Yet there may be hereditary taint. There are some persons who are moral idiots, and are so recognized by being placed in idiot asylums. Others have a tendency to disregard all social and civil law, and they have such strong tendencies to improper social actions that we may as well recognize them as moral idiots. Let me say, further, you will find in prisons there is a low average of intelligence and physical health in criminals. I think it is fair to say that prisoners have heredity to deal with as well as nurture, and they do not stand on an equal footing with the average mind, some brilliant exceptions notwithstanding. The same thing is true with the pauper classes.

A DELEGATE.— Take two children born of parents inheriting a taint of insanity on both sides: let one of them be brought up in the ordinary conditions, and the other under the best conditions that modern medicine can offer, and ten, twenty, thirty years later, possibly, the divergence would give some idea of what proper, scientific environment can do. The experiment would have to be repeated many times, and then perhaps we might have some basis for considering what can be eliminated by scientific environment. We have no institution providing for the experiment. We cannot leave the one child in the midst of pauperism and vice and take the other and put it under the best conditions for eliminating the taint in the blood. The biologists can do and are doing something in this direction in the greatest laboratories of Europe. They are putting various animal forms under different conditions, and determining by experiment, so far as biologists can, what is due to one and the other influence; and, therefore, it seems to me that if biologists can answer the question, we should not anticipate. Until then, I feel bound to suspend my judgment. We must wait, and we must work, in the belief that a large part of the misery in the world is naturally due to environment, and can be cured by improving the environment; but, when we come to the question of measurement, we must turn to the biologists and wait for them. I don't entirely agree with the paper that it is impossible for us to separate between environ-

ment and heredity. I may admit that they are not independent,— not absolutely separate. I can admit there are no such things as absolutely independent forces in the universe; but I do say it is a problem of modern science to look for instances where just as little as possible of one force and just as much as possible of another force is at work without complication of the other force, and you may then possibly get some opportunity for the determination of how much is due to one and how much to the other. I object to the title of the section under which we are working, as printed, "Scientific Study of Social Problems." We have little opportunity for investigation. We are obliged to lay stress upon theory, but it is just as indispensable to prove theory by practice as it is necessary that the people working on the other lines should have their work assisted and enlarged by some conception of theory.

Secretary H. H. HART.— Some of the university men at New Haven were still much involved with what might be called primary points in this subject, but we have the university men as actively engaged in this work as any of us. We have a full membership, I think, of some fifty colleges and universities represented, where we did not have ten a year ago; and I think they represent every State. I believe the representatives should be distributed through the several committees, and should come into the Conference and take up their work with us. As a matter of fact, those engaged in active charity work have, many of us, little time for philosophical study,— we have to deal with the practical aspects,— and I have been exceedingly stimulated and helped by contact with men who in the class-room and in their study are studying underlying principles. I believe we have done the universities some good, and I know they have done us great good, and I hope to see them incorporated with us from this time forward.

Secretary DENSON, North Carolina.— May I be permitted to contribute on behalf of North Carolina to this matter? It has a connection with the special circumstances of the South, and particularly my own State. I wish to call attention to the fact that in our ante-bellum days the spectacle of an hysterical, insane negro was very rare in the South. We had many idiots, we had cases of senile dementia, but typical cases of insanity were very rare. In 1871, when connected with the charities of the State, I addressed postal cards to the sheriffs of the several counties, to get at the number of insane, white and colored. The number was very small on the part of the colored. We had a small ward in the insane asylum devoted to the colored, in the same building with the whites. Circumstances have changed the environments of the negro; he is fighting his own battle of life, and it is a hard struggle. He has to give up his old habits; he has the care of his own little children, of which he had little before, and the care of himself; and he goes down in the struggle, and very rapidly, and the number of insane has increased. Twelve or fifteen years

ago we organized the first asylum especially for colored insane, and the first for colored defective men in the world. We have enlarged that institution twice. We thought surely room for twenty would be enough, but there are now three hundred cases, and the number is increasing rapidly through the State. In this instance we see how environment has mastered the man. What we are trying to do now in this State is to bring to bear the influences of the Christian religion to elevate them to another and better environment.

Monday Afternoon.

"Social Settlements," at Ladies' Literary Rooms.

NINTH SESSION.

Monday Night, June 8.

Subject, "Child-saving Work." Mr. Robert Treat Paine in the Chair.

Paper by Miss Alice J. Mott, Faribault, Minn., on "Our Duty to Nature's Step-children."

Paper by H. W. Lewis, Washington, D. C., Chairman, on "Outline for an Ideal System for the Rescue and Relief of Children" (p. 314).

Account of the work of the Board of Children's Guardians of the District of Columbia, illustrated by means of a stereopticon, by H. W. Lewis.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PAPERS.

Mrs. Kelly asked Dr. Caldwell what was the element of permanence at Toynbee.

Dr. CALDWELL.— I know men who have been there six or seven months; many who have been there two or three months.

Mrs. KELLY.— Is there provision for coming and going and coming again?

Dr. CALDWELL.— I think there is room in the winter and spring, because there are usually people away.

Mrs. KELLY.— I mean, is it a part of the scheme of the Settlement to have "floaters"?

Dr. CALDWELL.— No, they don't want them very much; it is generally possible to come there for a month or so, as a visitor. They want permanent residents, if possible, and generally get them.

Mr. TAYLOR.— What proportion of those attending the classes live

in the immediate vicinity of Toynbee Hall, and what proportion from a longer distance?

Dr. CALDWELL.— I think most of them are from the vicinity.

Mr. TAYLOR.— Somebody said that they draw from fifteen to twenty miles around, and do not reach the local constituency.

Dr. CALDWELL.— People do come in from around there as well as from a considerable distance. Residents pay for board and room; the charges are reasonable; but there are subscriptions from about thirty-six colleges. Everybody does a lot for Toynbee. It is so well known now. Our assistant professor of botany went to Toynbee to live in a house near where the lectures are. He began with one court, inducing people to have flowers there. The town authorities gave him money several times; he is now nominal landlord of about forty-five or six of the courts of Toynbee University; has the finest place around there. He has had the old court extended. Last year it wasn't just paying, there had been such a delay. I think the old building is rotten; a great many of them live in University Hall. The acquisition of the property was, partly, co-operative. It is an extremely good thing for the town. It is the old part of Dogberry. Artists and literary men are stimulated to production by living there.

Miss LATHROP.— On the whole, are there not a great many more men interested in England in this movement than there are here?

Dr. CALDWELL.— There is great want here of men. They are mostly men in England. A man would rather make a couple of thousand dollars in what is interesting, in England, than twenty thousand dollars in what is not interesting.

A LADY.— Are not English ladies more restricted by their education?

Dr. CALDWELL.— As far as my observation goes, they can do what they want in England; but it is mostly men, though many women in the Church of England work. The ladies do a great deal. In London, if a man is reading for the bar, or studying for hospitals, he goes to live there. It is more like college and more comfortable. It is owing to the way in which men must work between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five in England before they can do much. They are young at the professions at thirty-five or thirty-six, and don't mind living in settlements all these years.

Mrs. KELLY.— It has occurred to me that probably the preference for creature comforts at Toynbee might account for the difference in tenants between the two countries.

Dr. CALDWELL.— At Toynbee they do have comforts. The resident has them in his rooms wherever he goes; wouldn't live without them.

Mrs. KELLY.— I think perhaps that is all.

Dr. CALDWELL.— There must be comradery between man and man.

Mr. TAYLOR.— Don't you consider the absence of women from the

settlements in England quite as much a defect as the absence of men in America?

Dr. CALDWELL.— Oh, yes! although I don't know how you would have them go there. It would be rather difficult, since they are all bachelors. You keep men in this country longer as university men; but men will prefer that kind of life in this country, later.

A DELEGATE. — It seems to me residence in these settlements during the university course is a matter of convenience to you rather than a matter of philanthropy.

Dr. CALDWELL. — It is, largely, in Dogberry. In London it is mostly for the university course. Some of them simply go there for Sunday afternoon,— something of that sort; they don't pretend to do much philanthropy. I think much more good is sometimes got by working in the indirect way. I think the indirect results are sometimes much better in England than the direct results.

Miss VAN VECHTEN, Grand Rapids. — I should think the effect would be discouraging to people who can't have those little luxuries.

Dr. CALDWELL. — There is no reason why they shouldn't. They inspire people and teach them to save money and think about the little things. The indirect results I think are very great. We don't believe in the old charity idea. We believe in lifting people up by their own work for themselves. I think the people working in the settlements get more than they give. It brings them into the proper human relation with others. We don't want to preach. We want to help them to feel they must know more of life.

Mrs. HALL. — I have been impressed with the idea that in going into settlement life, the philanthropic idea is something to be got rid of. I don't believe in it at all. It gives us the idea that we are better than the other people, when we really are not half so good as a great many. I have been impressed with the idea that that is something to be dropped in Chicago. I have had more interesting, more inspiring, acquaintances in the 17th ward of Chicago than in any other circles I have moved among. I feel as if I had *done* no good, but I have *got* no end of good by going into the settlement.

Dr. CALDWELL.— I haven't been trying to show how the settlement does aggressive good, at all. I think we must throw the philanthropic idea out. We meet people, we don't know their names, we have to be agreeable for about ten days, and then we get to know these people, and the lines of life come into contact. We try to have simple lessons. The working people come to you, because they like to turn in and see you evenings.

Mr. ABT.— Dr. Caldwell speaks of gentlemen who don't give all their time to the settlement work, only a portion of their evenings. It is a good deal harder to show your best side after a day's work. The educational side of the settlement life has been presented extensively. I will speak from the motive side. When our Maxwell Street settlement was opened, the people couldn't quite comprehend it and

looked for the underlying motive. They thought our ultimate object was the "saving of souls," and were so afraid of being Christianized that they raised a riot and the police had to come out. A paper edited by Dr. Hirsch called attention to it, and there was great indignation, generally, because it seemed to savor too much of "charity." About forty of the most desirable people seceded from Hull House, and formed what they called a self-educational club, which has had a stimulating effect upon the settlement. That seemed to me a very interesting development of the settlement. This club has grown from forty to a hundred young men and women who meet for educational improvement, entirely apart from the settlement, but in the surrounding neighborhood.

Mr. E. T. DEVINE, Philadelphia. — In connection with the point we were discussing,— about helping the poor, or trying to help them, to lift them up. I wonder if it is quite honest to say there is no philanthropy about it. Philanthropy means, I suppose, love for our fellow-men, and the desire to be of some benefit to our fellow-men; and, although Toynbee Hall may be strong enough to receive residents for a short time, for a comfortable time to read law, not attempting to do anything for humanity, I am inclined to think it would lose its occupation if all its residents were of that sort. I think the man who simply wants to benefit himself by contact with the poor is hardly entitled to a place among our number, although I have no doubt that the teacher gets more from a child than a child from the teacher; the server gets more than the person he serves. I don't find myself in agreement with the indignant disclaiming of a desire to help or be a benefit to the people.

Mr. TAYLOR. — The turn of the discussion reminds me of a little story in a Chicago paper. A man was represented as asking another man what those settlement residents were, anyhow, and he replied, "Oh, good fellows who go down into the slums to live better." It is that view of pity that everybody with one particle of self-respect resents, that has led to the intenseness of the endeavor to throw suspicion upon the settlement movement. I know of no greater test of character than to go into the settlement. If a man cannot dispossess himself of selfishness, it will make him the worst kind of a Pharisee. It is better to have no philanthropy than to think you are so much better than anybody else. The educational side of settlement work is second only to that purpose which I suppose we all consider preeminently,— the social uplifting; the educative side of the settlement has surely to be considered in many ways. I think one difficulty arises at once, if we rely upon evening schools. A great many older persons do not like to be associated with twelve-year-olders. Then, some persons can only get one evening, or two, or three; but they are expected to give five evenings in the week, if they go to the public evening school. So it is no supererogation to have English branches taught. The idea of the settlement is to supply the next need that

turns up. If we can have a first class kindergarten in our district, we want to have it, but the best way to get the kindergarten in the public school is to show the need for it. The people we most need to influence live outside of the district, generally; they live in the suburbs removed from the great masses of men and the common life. In that line of effort we have been led to have once or twice a year sessions of social economics, and tried to get the best persons we could to present the various aspects. Last month we had our spring session. The kindergarten association adjourned and came to us. We have an afternoon and sometimes an evening's conference for the general good, and it is very interesting to see the workingmen come and enjoy it just as much as those who have professional motives for coming into touch with our methods. We are very much encouraged in that line of effort, and think that even though our help comes from a distance, larger results may be brought to bear than upon our immediate vicinity. Business and professional men from other districts attend our meetings, and sit and listen, and we invite discussions in which socialists and men of every line take part. There is something to interest all kinds. I should like to bring some of our students down there and let some one who thinks he knows it all pit himself against one of those single-tax talkers.

Dean HODGES.— I think it would be a pity for any one to go away from this meeting who may possibly not attend another, and have the idea that the settlement is a kind of place where people go just for the fun of it. I am reminded of John Armstrong, who said he never made a sacrifice in his life, although his whole life was a sacrifice of the profoundest kind. They do go for the fun of it. It is fun for them to do it for the love of it, but it is what we call philanthropy of the profoundest kind. I believe in the settlement; but I think the danger is on the line of what Professor Caldwell said, where people settle and are not always doing something. I think the danger lies in the direction of dropping into mere institutionalism. I have not known much about the educational workings, however, although I am connected in a way with three settlements. I do know about the educational influence that the settlement has upon the workers. Agassiz, when he had a student come to him for instruction, put down before him the fish or flower, and said, "Look at it!" After looking at it fifteen or twenty minutes, the student would say he was ready to report. But Agassiz would give it back to him, and tell him to look longer, and perhaps he would keep him three days looking at that one object; and he would find, then, that he very likely didn't know much about it. Pope Pius IX. was accustomed to ask visitors in Rome how long they had been there. If they said a week, he would say, "Then you have seen Rome." If they said, a month, he would say, "You have begun to see Rome." But if they said a year, he would say, "Then you know you can never see Rome." So, in these lines of work, it is neces-

sary to be where you can keep studying these social problems. I don't think it is well for a man to stay too long in one kind of society, whatever it may be, where he meets always the same people, the same things. He needs to be acquainted with people in every condition of life. I think that is one of the influences of the settlements that is particularly beneficial.

Mrs. KELLY.— There is an educational law in the State of Illinois demanding compulsory education. The requirement is for the child to go to school sixteen weeks in the year, of which twelve are to be consecutive; but Sunday-school or any other kind of school can be counted in the sixteen weeks, and the law doesn't tell which. That is the reason the settlement has so much police work to do. I should like to ask whether Mr. Abt doesn't get the greatest constituency from near by. I think from two to three hundred at the settlement, weekly (perhaps two hundred) come from within two or two-and-a-half blocks either way. As I understand Dr. Caldwell, one reason Toynbee doesn't draw largely from the immediate neighborhood is because the country around is Jewish. There is considerable Jewish occupancy around us. I wondered a little what the difference in the polity of the settlements might be.

Mr. ABT.— I think the thing to do is to work for independent effort on the part of individuals in the neighborhood. The idea is to accomplish something. The whole educational feature of the settlement ought to be as far as possible the secondary feature. Everything connected with it should be made secondary to the social work. There is no discipline. There are no fixed hours. Whether a boy comes at eight or half-past doesn't matter. There is nothing but freedom. The aim is to get them to work independently on their own account. Some pay fees, some pay very irregularly; but we have a very small fee varying from five to fifteen or twenty cents a week. A good many pay five, some are supposed to pay five and don't pay anything. The students are working boys and girls from about eighteen years upward. I am not prepared to say whether it is a good plan or not, but certainly we would rather they came irregularly than not to come at all.

Mr. DEVINE.— May not the charity instruction be related with some other organization, such as the University Extension? In Philadelphia that has been found of service in many ways. It is a great pleasure to me to meet those who come, as I have, for two hours. I don't mean on the harder lines, but in political economy, literature, etc. The extension work has not been carried on very extensively or systematically in Philadelphia. The lecturers have always been very willing to aid us.

Mrs. KELLY.— I don't know whether I am correct, but my impression is, that our university has made arrangements where we have not had to pay; but it was their custom to make a small charge and they didn't take kindly to paying nothing.

Mr. ABT.— The only university extension lectures at our settlement were by a lecturer who furnished his services gratuitously.

Mrs. KELLY.— The ordinary university lecturer will not make a success in the settlements. It requires extraordinary gifts.

Miss AMERICAN.— As a general thing the people are most interested in topics pertaining to the schools. They are interested in the occupations of their children. It is important to us to find occupation for the children in the congested districts during the summer. Reading some reports from Boston, my thought has been that through the large cities as well as the small, the children of the poor are unoccupied entirely during the summer, and there should be something conducted in such a way as to make them occupy themselves. I believe a large room or a series of small ones, with some one there all day long, where the children might come in and find pleasant books and a few games,— perhaps a piano, with some one to play,— would be very desirable; and the result would be educative both to the grown people and the children. People should be brought into this who are not the ordinary settlement workers. The subject of school vacation time has interested a great many people throughout the cities of the land, and the idea has developed something in Boston and New York. The New York experiment was larger and very successful. It was thought at first that money must be raised, and it might be best to open vacation schools. They got the use of three vacant public schools, and during the summer taught nature studies and had excursions to the parks, museums, etc. My imagination has been running on Agassiz's line. Something could be conducted at the expense of about eleven and one-half cents a day for each child next year. There are many people who would contribute. We have a tremendous amount of sympathy in certain wards in Chicago. We hope to raise $5,000, but shall be very glad to have $1,000. We shall see what the railroads will do, and generally what can be done about getting flowers sent in from the country; also pictures and books. Many back numbers can be obtained from the *Chila-garden*, published in Chicago. The school will be a joy to its neighborhood. In a few years the board of education will be led to take it up, as they have been compelled to take up the kindergarten system. I think in perhaps four or five years the people generally will take it up, and vacation schools will be assured to certain parts. We have to take all ages. One of the great cares of many mothers is, what to do with their children while they are away at work. They would like to send them into the country, and haven't even parks for them to go to; and sometimes the mothers refuse to go to work because they won't leave their children in the streets. The teachers should be paid, and none but trained teachers employed. Something should be done to keep girls between fifteen and nineteen years of age off the streets and give them something to think about.

Mr. ABT.— Miss American has asked the question, which I have always wanted to ask the social settlement workers, whether they reach the people who need educational lifting up most, or whether the majority are not those who are situated so they could get them anyway? The answer is another question: Who needs it most?

TENTH SESSION.

Tuesday Morning, June 9.

Subject, "Municipal and County Charities."

In the absence of Hon. James H. Stout, R. D. McGonnigle, of Pittsburg, Pa., took the chair.

Paper by Mrs. E. E. Williamson, Elizabeth, N. J., on "The Relation of Municipal and County Charities to the Commonwealth" (page 272).

Paper by Hon. Richard Guenther, Oshkosh, Wis., on "United States Legislation on Immigration of the Defective Classes" (page 302).

Paper by H. H. Hart, St. Paul, Minn., on "Proposed Legislation to regulate Interstate Migration of Paupers" (page 299).

DISCUSSION.

Mr. F. B. SANBORN.— The two subjects, Immigration and Interstate Migration, are those that we have had occasion to consider a long time, and my friend, Dr. Hoyt, who was to present a paper, I think would agree substantially with the paper of Mr. Guenther. I suspect, however, that he would, like myself, have been a little puzzled by one of the suggestions, made in maintaining the claim that we have the right to exclude aliens from our shores. When we undertake to return to their country persons whom we say are aliens, belonging to Germany, England, Scotland, or other countries, those countries have precisely the same right to exclude them from their ports. When we say, "They belong to you," they will say, "We don't know anything about that, and until you offer conclusive proof we cannot receive them." I suspect the "read and write" requirement is a political ideal, which, nevertheless, would not exclude, necessarily, the pauper and criminal, the helpless and insane, and would exclude a large number of persons whom this country, in a great part of its area, needs. It seems to me the proper way to restrict immigration is to establish a closer system of examination and a larger entrance fee. If you undertake to provide for a system of

restriction such as is proposed, or a very large entrance fee, like $100, we should make ourselves ridiculous. With a border line of four thousand miles, it is perfectly futile to attempt to restrict by a large fee. A great many of the immigrants nominally excluded are now coming over the border line between us and the British possessions. The evils we suffer I think are largely due to not enforcing our naturalization laws. It is not by keeping out the immigrants, but by restricting them after arrival that we shall have future prosperity. Further, as to a great number of the paupers in parts of our country being aliens, Mr. Hart could present to you some very conclusive statistics. There are certain parts of the country where a large number of criminals and paupers are aliens, but it is not true of the Scandinavians or the Dutch, or, extensively, of Germans. As to interstate migration, I entirely agree that the only efficient legislation must be national, because the general government is the only one with power over the whole country. The most stringent State regulations in Michigan cannot restrict in Wisconsin, because of the jurisdiction. There is a clause in our constitution, I think, which forbids co-operation between States. But that would not be so construed as to hinder an attempt to regulate this interstate immigration. And, if there could be harmony of action between the States which are side by side, it would very much lessen the existing evil; but national agreement must sooner or later regulate it. I am very glad Mr. Hart has drawn a bill on this subject.

Mr. HART.— I find much friction with adjoining States in sending back persons from one State to another.

Mr. SANBORN.— Undoubtedly there always will be until some agreement is established. There must be agreement between the States before there will be harmony.

Mr. GUENTHER.— I am much gratified with what Mr. Sanborn has said agreeing in the main with the views I have expressed. With reference to the objection to the execution of a law to return people who have come here in violation of the law, I am quite sure that the existing law plainly says such persons can be and shall be returned within one year after they land. Under this law quite a number of immigrants have been returned, and, to my knowledge, no country has ever objected. Under the international law, each country is obliged to take back its old subjects so long as they have not become citizens of some other country.

Mr. SANBORN.— Do you suppose the authorities of Russia would permit us to send back five thousand Russian Jews?

Mr. GUENTHER.— The experiment has not been tried, but I don't see how Russia could help herself, and in many cases I think she would be glad to take them back and send them to Siberia. I am very glad Mr. Sanborn, who hails from Massachusetts, is not in favor of the educational test, especially as a great many prominent gentlemen, among whom I may include Mr. Robert Treat Paine, have

defended that test. Perhaps I may state that as a naturalized citizen I am in sympathy, as I am sincerely, with those who are either immigrants or descendants of immigrants. The only really original people of the United States are the Indians. I claim that education is no test of character. There are a great many people in the world who have not had the advantage of going to school who yet have stout hearts, and are willing to work, and are merely inferior in school education. I have lived more than a year in manufacturing districts where I was surrounded by hundreds, perhaps thousands, of mechanics, not a single one of whom, perhaps, could read or write. I trust these people implicitly. I think if they would come to the United States they would become good citizens, and I am sure their children, who would have the benefit of the public schools of our country, would make excellent citizens, and I am decidedly opposed to the educational test. I want to call your attention to the fact that recently Congress, in the Lower House, very strongly advocated the passage of such a bill. I hope that bill will not pass, because I can see no good to the country in it. I speak as an American citizen. We are willing and should be that this country be an asylum for the oppressed of all nations. America is for the world and not just for the people who happen to be here. It would be a strange thing if I were to say that others still in the old country should not reap some of the benefits which I have enjoyed by the public institutions of this country. I am very much opposed to the tax. Under the existing law, any man who has not $20 would be regarded as a pauper. When I came here I had only $3 in my pocket. If that law had been in existence, I should have been excluded from this country's benefits. I am truly grateful to Mr. Sanborn, for whom I entertain the highest regard, for following up the views I have expressed.

Mr. VISHER, Secretary of the Bureau of Labor and Transportation. — I was greatly pleased with the careful paper of Mr. Hart. I think he discriminated closely between dependent and pauper people. This transplanting from one State to another can be done safely and wisely, but the shoving of paupers from one State to another is an imposition and should be checked in every way it can. I was speaking with the compiler of the Illinois Statutes, a legislator for many years, and a man of high standing, and he said the Michigan law, with reference to these dependent people sent from other States, if brought to the test would not stand. I come in touch with the law in my work. A man in Northern Michigan asked for juvenile labor; he asked for two particular boys who were described to him, — one eighteen, the other sixteen years old: brothers, who had been taken to the newsboys' home and were there a long time. The only right thing to do was to transplant them into country homes. The boys were willing, the old man was willing and sent the money; but the county superintendent of public schools informed the gentleman

that there was a State law which made him liable to a considerable penalty if he should have a hand in bringing these sixteen and eighteen years old boys from Chicago into Michigan. Such a law should be wiped out. They want to go into a farming community and get to work on farms. There are many other people, young people and older people, men and women whom we might ship from one State to another. I think there ought to be a law that would be in accordance with such needs in our work.

President WRIGHT. — The Michigan law forbidding the shipping of dependent children from other States into Michigan was the result of discussions in the National Conference of Charities years ago, and was due to the abuse of States shipping children by the carload, without proper supervision or investigation, from Eastern to Western States. The thought was a good thought, to take the children out of the slums and set them in good country homes, but the way they carried it out was very defective. You will find, in the various Proceedings of this Conference, discussions held on that matter, — a careful paper by Mr. Hart, showing the result of investigation which he made of the several counties of Minnesota where these children were sent, showing that some of the children stayed and did well, but many stayed and did not do well, on account of the wholesale methods of shipping the children from New York to Western Minnesota. The Michigan law resulted from that.

Mr. G. K. HOOVER, Chicago. — I think Mr. Visher would discover, by investigation, that the Michigan law simply requires the person receiving the child to give bond of a thousand dollars to indemnify the State in case the child should become a pauper.

Mr. VISHER. — That is a hardship.

Mr. G. W. JOHNSON, Massachusetts. — I was exceedingly interested in the paper on the subject of removals from the country without regard to the lapse of time during which the person has been in the country. It is a question that has frequently come up before me as chairman of a Committee on Removals. The committee is obliged to examine into and make a record before any action can be taken by the agents of the Board, and there are cases cited here of the removal of paupers from the State and country, even after they have been in this country eight or ten years. We paid the expenses of shipment, but exercised the right which our Supreme Court says we have. The Supreme Court of the United States has said that the right of self-protection is before all other rights; that, when an attempt has been made to place a burden upon us that does not belong there, we have the right to protect ourselves. Therefore, when we find a pauper who has come into the country, has led a migratory life in every State, and floated as a tramp into one of our institutions, we take the liberty of removing him and sending him to the country from which he came. We have had some obstacles in two cases within the last two or three years; but the trouble was not made by

the national but by city authorities,— the authorities of the city of Hamburg, under their municipal law. But I am not aware that under the common national law parties have been refused whom we have returned. I was interested in one remark made by the gentleman who read the paper, in regard to the amount that should be paid by the pauper. As is well known, the only money paid by the pauper at present is one dollar a head; and our law says that if he falls into distress during the year, and any place supports him, the authorities may recover from the United States Government the cost of so supporting him during the year. The fifty-cent head money, as formerly received, used to pay the expenses, not only for one, but five years, but became insufficient for administering the duties of the officers of the different ports. With the changing conditions the remuneration is about one tenth of the cost. It seems to me that the head money should be large enough to afford material support to all who may fall into distress during the first five years of residence in this country, and that for our Government to impose simply a tax of a dollar with the idea of furnishing support to these immigrants who fall into distress immediately after coming, is farcical. I would not place it at $100; that would be a severe tax, and might be excluding to persons who would be useful citizens of the United States; but I would make it $10. A person who desires to come to this country to receive all the benefits and advantages of our country,— certainly if he could not raise $10, I think he would not be a capable citizen and should stay out. I think that would keep out a good many of the unfit classes, and at the same time it would afford some reasonable compensation to the charitable authorities who had charge of his subsistence.

Mrs. KELLY. — I have lived nearly five years in a colony of emigrants of the sort who can neither read, nor write, nor pay $20, nor $1.00. I taught in a school two hours with father and son in the class side by side. I think altogether the most humane thing to be done is to refuse hospitality until we really can be hospitable, and not bring them into the slums in which the great body of emigrants persistently settle. I think that if the rate of $100 would shut them out, that is a good argument for it. We cannot afford to take care of them, because the conditions have changed so. The $3 immigrant who comes to-day does not fit the situation. Four years ago when I went to live in those regions I did not know them personally as I do now. I think it is the humane thing to shut them out. It is because I have seen the lamentable destitution. This boy who has broken his ankle, and that boy who is a quasi-criminal, are doomed in advance. Until we can give the children for the first ten years of their life the best conditions, I think we are required by the principles of simple humanity to allow only those to come in who are able to take care of themselves.

Dr. CALDWELL. — We have acted upon the policy of opening fields

of work to the paupers of all the world quite long enough, and the best service America can render to the world is to take care of herself and build up here a pure nationality. I would urge the restricting of immigration very much indeed, for economical and political reasons. If we are going to preserve our democracy, we must wait until we have assimilated those who are here. If we are to keep up the standard of wages, we must shut out the laborers from other countries.

Miss JULIA LATHROP.— I find myself in the position of disagreeing with a lady who lives under the same roof with me, and I think it will be better to fight it out right here than when we are alone. I happened to come from the country into Chicago and the speaker who preceded me comes from the larger residence districts of New York and Philadelphia. In that portion of the country where we live, we have several thousands very unfortunately situated, a congested population, largely Italian; but there is another element, a very large Swedish immigration, assisted by servant girls who from their $3 a week have sent to Sweden for their brothers and sisters, who come, not with $3, but a heavy debt on their shoulders. I feel that that class are as truly to be helped as those we are struggling with very inadequately indeed in the slums of Chicago.

Mr. GUENTHER.— I have no intention of forcing my own views upon this assembly, so I will just call your attention to a few lines spoken at a recent dinner of the Massachusetts Reform Club, by William Lloyd Garrison, who, I presume, had due knowledge: —

> A nation of immigrants and the children of immigrants, having obtained possession of the continent, are considering the feasibility of barring out other immigrants. They assume to have the right to determine who shall be admitted hereafter, and who shall not. It is pertinent to demand the evidence of their authority. The United States is a considerable fraction of the habitable globe, sparsely settled, with a population of 21 to the square mile, compared with 311 in Great Britain, 234 in Germany, and 187 in France. Its resources are as yet measureless; and, to use Mr. Atkinson's words, "it contains incalculable room for immigrants." Indeed, he figures that all the inhabitants of the nation can find standing-room in the town of Brookline, the mothers holding their babes in their arms, and still have room to spare. Conclusively, it is not on the ground of overcrowding that the danger arises from the incoming of foreigners. Your authority, gentlemen, for this restricted persuasion, for this enormous assumption of power. Show us your title deed. If a nation has a right to keep out aliens, tell us how many people constitute a nation and what geographical area they have a right to claim. In the United States, where a thousand millions can live in peace and plenty under just conditions, who gives to 70,000,000 the right to monopolize the territory? How few can justly own the earth and deprive others who are landless of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? And what becomes of the rights of the excluded? Is there any justification of such assumption except the ground of might? It is the simple power of force and not of justice.

Judge FOLLET, Ohio.— We shall do well, I think, to remember these words, "Look not every man on his own things, but every man on the things of others," as applicable to nations. We Americans

look not only upon our own but upon the things of others. I think we should put ourselves into the position of some of these people in other lands sometimes. I recollect starting from the port of Trebizond on the Black Sea after twelve years in that provincial country and learning something of the people and the regulations there. We went aboard the steamer. Our boxes and goods were taken from land by small boats and put on board, and one of the officers came and asked where we were going, and I remember I was surprised to see how those Eastern sailors looked up. They had learned about America and perhaps had friends there, and their idea seemed to be, — Oh, that we could go to America! When we came ashore the health officer was there, in New York, and some Armenians were on the steamer, and he began to swear, and I thought, "Is this the reception these people are going to receive — these profane words and oaths, the first words?" It seems to me we cannot forget such persons as those poor Armenians, the best of that country. I talked with a man here in Grand Rapids recently of the difficulty they have in getting away from that country; they have to pay money to get away, and with all the difficulty they have in getting away, I think we ought to welcome all of those who come.

Dr. CALDWELL.— I would call attention to a particular point. If my friend Guenther is right, and all the world ought to be allowed to come here because there is room, isn't it the duty of the people of the United States to organize a society for importing Chinese, Hindoos, etc.? Let me repeat the remark I made a few moments ago, that the best service the United States can render the world is to build up and maintain here a pure and high civilization. Any importation which injures that civilization is an injury to the world.

Prof. WILLCOX, Cornell University. — I have been working on statistics of the United States recently. We took the census of foreign-born population in 1880, and again in 1890, and found the number of Italians, Poles, Russians, Coreans drifting into the large cities smaller in 1890 than in 1880. It would seem that they are scattering throughout the country with greater rapidity than during the last decade.

President WRIGHT.— This Conference is not the place to discuss this question of immigration. The relation of the question to charities and corrections is the subject to discuss here. I think the interior cities that have received such a large proportion are themselves standing arguments in favor of the fact that foreign immigrants do not produce the greatest amount of crime, pauperism, or insanity. Wisconsin has the largest proportion of foreign-born,— two-thirds,— yet we have the smallest proportion of criminals in prison of any of the States. Minnesota is next, a little smaller; North Dakota, an almost equal per cent. of foreign born. And these three States have the smallest criminal percentage of population, and a very small percentage of insane paupers.

Judge FOLLETT, Ohio.— I could not sit still after the remark about organizing societies to import Chinese, Hindoos, etc. The railroad contractors in our State could not compete with other railroad contractors until they said: "We can't use American labor, but we get down to base on Italian labor." Those men go to Michigan, employ Italian labor, and get contracts for railroads, and then make money. Did you ever know a man who himself desired to come out to this country, who fought for the privilege, and came because perhaps his sister, or I don't care who, lent him money and he got here — that ever became a pauper? On the other hand, the United States have sought to shut out the very worst system of emigration God Almighty ever saw,— organized first in the Chinese empire, for purposes I need not mention here. The question is how to stop that. No such law has been made for ten years as Michigan has. You must give a bond for a thousand dollars that a man will not become a pauper before you permit him to be brought out here. I believe Michigan will repeal that law. When a man of intelligence wishes to come here, I don't believe there is any community of men who should build up a wall and say, "You shall not come."

Rev. G. G. HOOVER.— It seems to me we are agreed in this discussion. There is a class that, in the interests of charity, should be kept from our shores. We have a right to say to the burglar, "You shall not enter my home," but if a gentleman wants to come he should be welcomed.

Mr. HAUPT.— It is generally the richer States that want to shift their poor on to the poorer States, and the State has a right to say no.

Dr. WALK.— My connection with the poor law dates back twenty-six years. One of our greatest troubles is the immigration of whole families, particularly along the railroads running through railroad centres. Nine times out of ten it is cheaper to get them on to somebody else, but is it right? I had a family that travelled from New York to Chicago twice, a wife and five children. She went to Pittsburg from New York, and got on a train for Chicago, was sent back to Pittsburg and New York. I think she went pretty nearly all over the country. While our poor law is old,— passed in 1886 and substantially the same as in England,— we have a law that practically covers the same ground as stated in the paper of Mr. Hart, but it is not enforced. Thousands of dollars are wasted every day in that transportation process of travelling back and forth that does no good in the world. My idea is that every one of these travelling beggars, gypsies, should be gathered up by the authorities, and made to state if they have any settlement or residence, and, if they haven't, they should be sent to the almshouse and kept there, as suggested by Mr. Hart. It seems to me our only remedy is by act of Congress. I don't know just what way it should be drawn. My thought is that this Conference should authorize its proper officers to, in some manner, prepare an act to be offered in Congress, to cover the whole

ground. It occurs to me that with the assistance of the Boards of Charities in our various States, and with co-operation from the officers of the State Conferences, we ought to have very little difficulty in securing such legislation. It would not only be an aid to paupers, but to the community and the sufferers by these people continually coming for relief while it is utterly impossible to give any relief. Now, with reference to Mrs. Williamson's paper, in which she speaks with so much energy of the importance of taxpayers taking an interest in our county institutions. Twenty-six years ago we organized an association composed of representatives of children's aid societies and all our benevolent institutions. While we started in very simply, yet the entire condition of our almshouses is far beyond what we could have foreseen. The people are beginning to look at the character of the almshouses,— the sort of man in charge, the kind of discipline maintained, and the treatment of the various kinds of persons who go to the almshouses. Some city almshouses are looked upon as a sort of dumping-ground, and do not have the inspection of the public as they should. Our observation in Pennsylvania is that if public attention is directed to these almshouses, the management is improved; the finances, by a more economical distribution of outside relief, come down to a better condition; the citizens begin to give co-operation that lifts up the whole establishment, so that the very character of the directors of the poor has changed. We have to-day a class of people managing these almshouses who, twenty years ago, would have thought it an insult to be asked. Now it is looked upon as a kind of honor. So, following Mrs. Williamson's thought, I would call your attention not only to the large, but to the small, institutions.

Miss MOORE, Buffalo.—One more word in regard to transportation. I think Buffalo has its share. I come in contact with the class coming and going a good deal. We have almost as much in the way of families as of the single man. The family lands in Buffalo and rents a furnished room for about $2 or $2.50 a week, and there they live and prey on the public. Once in a while the man may get work, but he ordinarily drifts right back to us. Ask him where he comes from, and you find he has been moving about for two years. The only people who travel are the very rich, who can afford it, and the very poor, who travel at the expense of the city or town. Why can't this Conference, as a body, assert itself by action on some practical thing? I would like something done to hinder this transportation from town to town and city to city. There ought to be a stop put to this travelling of the father all over the United States, while we in Buffalo, or somebody else, must take care of the family. Let us take concentrated action to abolish this evil.

Dr. WALK.—The Committee on Administration carefully considered having a committee to make a codification of the laws of the United States to get the facts accurately, in order to get uniform

interstate legislation. The first thing is to see what the present condition of the laws is. That committee told me they hoped to be able to report fully in the next Conference what the condition of the laws is.

President WRIGHT.—This Conference has a settled policy not to adopt resolutions or to organize to effect legislation. I think there is good reason for that; but it doesn't prevent individuals who come here from working together in another way to influence legislation, or agreeing together that the cities they represent shall adopt certain lines of polity,—for instance, as to travelling tramps or paupers. If you want legislation as to immigration, talk to Mr. Guenther and those who have interest to back him up. Tell your member of Congress what you want, and have him secure legislation. You do not need resolutions by this Conference. Just rally about Mr. Guenther. I say the same thing about interstate migration. Rally around Mr. Hart.

Dr. WALK (after Mr. Jackson's paper).— Mr. Jackson has stated admirably the objections to outdoor relief, but I want to express my belief that there must be prompt relief sometimes. I have no sympathy with the idea of having no provision for immediate relief of the suffering. I would rather have a bad law than no provision at all. The safety of the people is the supreme thing, and we must not let the people starve or freeze. If you have a charitable society that writes over its door, "No relief under any circumstances," you put yourselves in a position where the Charity Organization cannot possibly get relief from other benevolent societies, and run the risk of somebody suffering. In Philadelphia we are not quite so orthodox. We don't object to giving in certain cases. We have given from the charity organization funds as much as $10 a week, for a short time. We take that position because we believe that if we ask the community to contribute to outdoor relief, we must be able to show some relief to suffering. We are not sure they will respond. We have had a good deal of abuse, but we haven't broken down. Until we get better provision for the people, we will give relief in special emergencies. In 1879 we said, "We will see that nobody suffers." The city was determined to cut down municipal expenses, and it was decided to strike down outdoor relief,—sixty, eighty, ninety thousand,—the only thing retained was physician's attendance upon the poor, and the medicine they could get at drug stores, afterward paid for by the city, at wholesale rates. I don't think we ought to have kept that. The reform only went so far as to strike off in the matter of clothing. It was down to about $80,000 sixteen years ago. Then it was said, "Many of the poor will suffer." "The almshouses will be packed to the doors." They said, "Wait a few years and you will give up this fad, and take up something else, and we will go back to our outdoor relief." I don't know of anybody to-day who is in favor of going back to the outdoor relief. I am sure the poor-

law authorities are not. I put the question to the Board of Commissioners, and they said not under any circumstances did they think it would be desirable to go back to it. Two years ago, in the very heart of 1893 and 1894, we raised a special fund of $150,000 for relief of the poor. A number contributed who would not have done so under the outdoor relief system. It was found to be regarded as extraordinarily unsympathetic, and a system most liable to political abuse, through the hands of the incompetent and dishonest.

You will see by the State Report just published, page 65, that in Pennsylvania the care of the destitute (a small number) is very largely from private benevolence, organized throughout the cities, with good results. In Philadelphia an association of eighteen organizations, known as the Society for Organizing Charity, has covered all the districts, and the municipality doesn't need to supply aid. Medical attendance is the only relief given. The officers of the society work in hearty co-operation with the public officials, greatly to the advantage of both. There is nothing like experience. An ounce of experience is worth a pound of theory. The report of 1890 compares the result of twelve years with and without outdoor relief.

1867	$453,740.00
1868	422,610.00
1869	430,310.00
1870	422,793.25
1871	440,520.00
1872	441,879.05
1873	445,568.07
1874	534,193.57
1875	569,978.62
1876	572,422.45
1877	506,016.82
1878	509,156.00
Total	$5,749,187.83

For the succeeding twelve years, ending with 1890, they were:

1879	$485,226.00
1880	405,476.00
1881	436,976.95
1882	422,118.00
1883	386,304.00
1884	330,313.00
1885	324,582.29
1886	350,229.00
1887	349,167.55
1888	385,918.91
1889	390,153.00
1890	390,353.00
Total	$4,656,817.70

It thus appears that the municipal expenditures, for the latter period, were $1,092,370.13 less than for the former, and this notwithstanding the city's growth.

The population of Philadelphia in 1867 was less than 657,277 (the figures of the census of 1870). In 1890 it is placed by the census at 1,045,396.

This decrease in the municipal expenditure for the poor, not only relatively to population, but absolutely as contrasted with a former period, is an extraordinary fact, which, as far as we know, is without a parallel in any other American city, and which shows conclusively that in Philadelphia not only has a check been given to the increase of pauperism, but that the evil has been largely diminished.

It is of interest to inquire what has been the total cost of the Society for Organizing Charity during the period which has witnessed this gratifying progress. The gross expenditure of the society, for all its departments and in all its districts, has been: —

For the year ending Sept. 30, 1879	$37,580.81
" " " " 1880	33,399.44
" " " " 1881	33,513.54
" " " " 1882	32,528.17
" " " " 1883	38,988.17
" " " " 1884	45,724.05
" " " " 1885	60,289.31
" " " " 1886	56,985.62
" " " " 1887	54,050.19
" " " " 1888	48,032.91
" " " " 1889	46,447.38
" " " " 1890	41,106.93
Total	$528,646.52

With these facts in view, it would surely be a judicious thing for the city of Philadelphia to secure the doing of this work, even if every dollar it cost were paid out of the municipal treasury. The Society has never received any aid from the State or the city, and its support has fallen entirely upon private benevolence. It is much to be regretted that the insufficiency of its income for several years has prevented expenditures which could have been made with great advantage, especially in some of the poorer wards.

Mr. HAUPT.— Did you find that taking off that large amount of expense reduced the taxation any, of the city?

Dr. WALK.— The rate of taxation has been reduced in Philadelphia during these years. We only taxed real estate, city and county. Our rate has been $2.30 on each hundred of the assessed valuation, as high as that at one time,— I think in 1876. It has been gradually reduced to $1.85 on a hundred. Of course it contributed to reducing taxation, as far as it went, by saving a million dollars in twelve years.

Mr. HAUPT.— I asked the question to see if that could be used as an argument in some of our Western cities.

Dr. WALK.— The outdoor relief from Jan. 1, 1880, had its deathblow. The number of applicants at the offices was increased for about two months, but not so much as we had expected, and after that the force seemed to be spent.

QUESTION. What does your city give a year in the way of relief?

Dr. WALK.— The expenses of the city in general, the suffering district, amount to about $40,000. The amount varied, some years about $50,000; about $10,000 of that is relief. There are expenses

for supporting and running the wayfarers' lodges, about $10,000 ordinary years. Two years ago, during the extremely hard times, our city expenses increased to over $75,000, and almost the entire increase was for relief purposes. The last $35,000 was raised by subscription. With that single exception we have had simply the money from the city treasury. For lodging people at the wayfarers' lodges — old men and women and little children — we have had an appropriation that averages about $3,000 a year from the city treasury for three or four years. We all feel now, I think, that instead of subscription, special needs should be spread through the city. But that was a new thing. We got a good deal of money a few years. Along about 1890 to 1892 and 1893 we made applications to the city for relief for the wayfarers' lodges. We didn't ask for any for giving in the homes of the poor. After awhile those applications fell off. The way the emergency was met seemed to make the city feel that the society ought to be sustained, and we have had an increase in the number of persons contributing, although contributions are not so large. We have had local associations raising relief funds for their own districts, and in rich districts all that was needed would be raised; but for the poor districts we pay from the central source the salaries of the officers and the administration expenses. The central society collects mainly from the wealthier people, and the relief fund is used to pay salaries, expenses of offices, and distribution, and carrying on the wayfarers' lodges.

First, the money was raised by committees. The ladies soon tired out. About the first of November a circular was sent out to the people in the ward, asking what they would contribute. A good many contributions came in by mail, or were left at the office. After the harvest they began collection. These collectors are paid early in the winter, after collecting. Generally we employ them by the month. We pay more if they bring in a thousand than for a hundred. When we found they were having poor collection of money, we employed a financial agent. He executes the plans which are all laid out by the secretary. The agent goes to the wealthier people, the managers of the annual charity balls. In 1895 the German Charity Ball gave us $2,200. The American Charity Ball gave $1,600 this year.

Mr. ALMY, Buffalo.— Before 1880 was the city poor relief reviewed by you?

Dr. WALK.— The first step was taken in 1878, just after Buffalo. It seems impossible it should cost $80,000 in Buffalo, when Philadelphia doesn't need more than $10,000. When the money comes out of the public treasury, it is always much easier to say it is all right. I said I didn't approve of the outdoor medical attendance last month, when that was reported to us in districts where there was so little poverty. I asked if it was worth while to have our physician there, and one member said, "He isn't doing much, but the

council has made the appropriation and if we drop him he will think it hard." When the city gives you the money, you spend it. I don't suppose the angel Gabriel could be persuaded to save municipal moneys.

Mr. JACKSON.—The St. Paul report contains a statement of the manner in which the Associated Charities distributed relief for the severe winter of 1893 and 1894. They wanted to save money and they wanted to do the best they could for the poor. There is one thing I should like to bring out that I did not state in my report. It is a thing a good many of you can apply locally. I expected to address people on Charity Organization and therefore didn't put in that. The board doesn't hire any individual to investigate. It hires the association called the Associated Charities, really a combination of forty-five organizations. I don't see why many of you could't do the same. I presume a fair valuation of the work would be for that in my field, about $1,200, possibly $1,500. We do it for $600. The Board of Control might hire some incompetent man to do the work. It seems a pity that there should be so much waste in Buffalo. The Charity Organization is willing to make those investigations for nothing. I feel sure that if the Charity Organization of Buffalo made those investigations in the first place, before the ground had been all mulled over, they would be able to make a good deal over a thousand. If outdoor relief were abolished in St. Paul (and I don't defend it), it wouldn't do away with the Board of Control; and if it did, that wouldn't strengthen the case. They are all gentlemen of independent means. In my judgment the best people to administer outdoor relief are small committees,— not more than three on the committee, for a city like ours; and let them hire a competent clerk and have a thorough investigation. If the Board of Control were reduced to five, there would more aid come; and if reduced to one, less.

Mr. HOLLISTER, Grand Rapids.—In regard to the value of unpaid non-partisan commissions, by the session of our legislature we were able to revise our city charter. So this provision has been made for us; and the mayor, having the appointments, appointed three of our members,— estimable citizens from different parties,— and they corrected the whole system that existed before they struck opposition right off at the root. They distributed the whole force of the office, cut off all applicants, all those receiving aid, and commenced at the bottom, taking each case by itself and making investigation accordingly. I want to give credit to our present mayor for the appointments; and I want to congratulate the city here that we have such a Commission; and I would like to introduce the chairman, Mr. Wiley, to the people of this Conference.

Mr. WILEY.—I noticed in Dr. Walk's statement that in Philadelphia, I think in 1878 or 1879, they were spending from the poor fund something like $75,000 or $80,000 [Dr. WALK: "For outdoor

relief entirely"], and that was entirely cut off another year. If you had authority prior to that, by what authority did you stop that at once?

Dr. WALK.— Our Department of Health appropriated about $700,000, of which $200,000 was for correctional and the rest for charitable use. The charitable side, the biggest, cost about about $45,000. The bigger lot comes out of taxation. The Poor Department was authorized by law to spend that amount so appropriated by the City Council, but not to spend any more than the council appropriated. When they appropriated $700,000, for relief of the destitute poor, they just dropped off; the law was inoperative because there was no money.

Mr. FOLLETT.— How many wayfarers' lodges have you had, and what have been their requirements and expenditures?

Dr. WALK.—Two large lodges, one in the northern, the other in the southern part of the city. They have had as high a number as three hundred, but properly the accommodation is for two hundred only. They take men, women, and children. All able-bodied men are compelled to work in the wood-yard not over four hours a day. The women work in the house, scrubbing, washing, and cleaning. That is all the work we have for them. They are sustained by the Association, and they pay two-thirds by the saving of the cost of the work.

Mr. WILEY.—We have what is known as the county and township systems. Under the township system we recognize Grand Rapids as one township. The poor law provides for support or assistance for any poor person who has become disabled by reason of old age, sickness, or some other cause. Those are the only persons entitled under our poor laws to assistance from the poor fund. I understand the object of creating our Poor Commission is to ascertain whether an applicant comes within the qualification and the amount of care that may be expended in determining that question. There is a class of persons in a community that must be cared for. We find the Jews are paying $1.50 to $2 a week to their people of that class for support.

Secretary JOSEPH P. BYERS, Columbus.— We have been operating under the county system, so-called, of outdoor relief; taxes levied in each county by three directors who have the entire supervision of the fund. Several counties in the State within the last few years have made the same experiment with the township system of administering outside relief,— trustees in each township having power to make a levy for the support of the poor in the township, doing away with the county fund. You can probably see that where the funds are raised by levy of the directors, the temptation has been to secure for the respective townships a large share of the funds,— there has been no desire to limit the expenditures in the township; while, with the township system, the expenditures are brought closer to the township pockets. The township trustees

have more knowledge of the circumstances of the township and the cases that receive the relief. In one county, where the experimental stage has been passed,—Union County,—an average one, in conversation a year or two ago with one of the old directors, he explained how they changed, with the consent of the township trustees, to the township plan. He said formerly in Union County, five to seven thousands had been spent in outside relief. Now, in seven townships they spend hundreds where they used to spend thousands. There is a feature of our Ohio law which we hope to have remedied next legislature. Under the statutory provision, a physician attending a case of supposed indigence, after three visits may report the fact to the directors of the county and have his bill paid. Columbus last year spent $30,000 in outside relief, 30 per cent. being paid to some one of the physicians. It has been a corruption fund. The first three months of this year the average amount per month to physicians in the city of Columbus was about $1,800, at the rate of $22,000 a year.

Miss MOORE.—We had a hard winter in 1892 and 1893, and everybody was generous, and our city appropriated large sums. We have got back to our $80,000; it was $90,000 and still larger. That is one reason why we are spending $80,000. I think it has been fairly spent. A good many families have bought and paid for homes; some have bought and are not able to pay. The day laborer only works from May to perhaps October and earns $1.50 a day, providing he works for the city. Counting off the days when he doesn't work, how much money has he to lay up? Perhaps in the winter he is entirely dependent upon odd jobs. Half the time men are hunting for odd jobs and not getting them. The Polish people don't speak English. I am sorry to say there is not much feeling toward a poor father, but he doesn't know what to do. He applies for help and some one is sent to investigate. He has been idle so many months. There is a wife and probably five or six children in one or two small rooms. I don't believe a strong, able-bodied man ought to be taken care of, but they are innocent. A man and wife and five or six children receive $2 a week from the overseer of the poor and probably have to pay $2 or $3 a week for room-rent. The landlord is allowed to wait all winter for his rent. We have a Polish agent who speaks English. I tried my best to see him, to draw from him all these facts. I didn't understand why this strong, able-bodied man couldn't get enough. I said, "Are you sure they haven't got any money laid up in the house?" If we didn't have the Polish question in Buffalo, we should have widows, deserted wives, and sickly people to take care of. It is only in the Polish section where we give relief to strong, able-bodied men. If you can give any light on the Polish question, I should like you to do it.

President WRIGHT.—I want to answer Mr. Wiley's question directly. The great evil of outdoor relief is that it pauperizes the

recipients and tends very largely in many localities to the corrupting of politics. The sort of outdoor relief described in Buffalo is the sort of outdoor relief that ought not to be given. Employment ought to be furnished.

Mr. ALMY.— We do furnish it now. Last year we had charge of the baking done in a large school, and only able-bodied men worked. It was a great help. Those who worked half paid their expenses. But something must be done, and why is it that the same argument doesn't apply to institutional as to outdoor relief?

Mr. WRIGHT.— It does, but experience shows there is very much less danger. The great danger is in being aided at home. Some systems can be carefully guarded and are not very dangerous; the pressure upon public authorities throughout all sorts of social, political, and business relations will lessen the amount of outdoor relief. The whole matter is giving people something for nothing, and in the home it is the reversal of all true charity. True charity is that which builds up people and makes them able to help themselves. The charity organizations are trying to get at the conditions of the problems. In such a place as Grand Rapids, perhaps, the change cannot be made all at once. There may be some cases that ought to have relief; but the less the better, for the poor themselves, and the better for the politics of the city,— although now non-partisan, I understand,— and the better for the treasury of the city. What is the Church for? Ought not our Churches to be in the lead of Christianity in this question of charity?

Mr. VISHER, Chicago.— In Chicago, Cook County, the sum of expenses on account of charity, for five years, is $3,100,000. $443,000 being for outdoor relief. The question is whether this nearly eighth part could not be thrown upon the other parts. I think the poorhouse and other institutions could raise their proportion. In fact, in regard to Cook County the method is rather self-guarded. The Relief and Aid Society disburses relief in the form of money, and the county agent disburses relief in the form of provisions and coal.

Col. ALDRICH, Grand Rapids.— I went hunting in northern Wisconsin, and in the woods I came upon a piece of land, the trees all cut, and I asked my guide what it meant. He said some years ago a doctor moved into the neighborhood and they thought there was going to be a great deal of civilization there, and thought they needed a cemetery. The doctor moved away and they didn't have any use for that piece of land. A few years ago we went over the list of what it cost to take care of the sick poor and it amounted to about $200,000, and it cost $600,000 to pay it. I ask you to consider in this meeting, if possible, what seem to me greater, grander, more successful, more divine processes of charity, outdoor and indoor, than what comes from skilful, scientific, and paid departments of our various cities and States. Dr. Fair will pardon me if I call atten-

tion to the fact that, where he sits, sits a representative of what we may call eight or ten charitable organizations, and I suggest that at subsequent meetings of your Conference you discuss the work done by fraternity societies, keeping men out of the streets. I think it should be taken up and explained how all over the country men are being occupied and women protected and children cared for, because these secret-society men have taken oaths of obligation.

President WRIGHT.— I belong to two of those fraternal organizations, and have worked with about two dozen others.

ELEVENTH SESSION.

Tuesday Night, June 9.

Report of the Committee on Time and Place, Judge Follett, Chairman: New Orleans recommended for the place of the next meeting, and the date to be between March 15 and May 15. The report also recommended that New Orleans be required to subscribe $800, to be applied to defraying the expenses of the Conference. General Brinkerhoff moved to accept the report of the committee.

Rev. Luther P. Ludden, of Nebraska, moved to adopt that part of the report requiring $800 from the city in which the Conference meets.

Mr. N. S. Rosenau, of New York, moved to amend this clause so as to place the $800 requirement upon all cities in which the Conference may hereafter meet.

The amendment of Mr. Rosenau was adopted, and the original motion of General Brinkerhoff to accept the report of the committee was also adopted.

Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell, of Indiana, moved to substitute the name of Toronto for that of New Orleans in the report of the committee.

Mr. Alexander Johnson, of Indiana, moved to amend Mr. Bicknell's motion by substituting the name of Philadelphia for that of Toronto.

Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, of Massachusetts, moved to substitute Topeka, Kan., for all of the names suggested in the preceding motions.

By consent, five-minute speeches by representatives of the different cities were permitted. J. J. Kelso, of Toronto, spoke for that city. C. E. Faulkner, of Kansas, represented Topeka. Michael Heymann,

of Louisiana, spoke for New Orleans, and Philip C. Garrett, of Philadelphia, represented Philadelphia.

Mr. N. S. Rosenau, of New York, moved that Mrs. Louise Houghton, of New York, be given permission to speak in favor of New Orleans. The chair ruled that only one person would be allowed to speak for each city. Mr. Rosenau appealed from the decision of the chair, but the chair was sustained by vote of the Conference.

By a rising vote the Conference then disposed of the various candidates for the next meeting. Topeka received five votes; Philadelphia, 21 votes; Toronto, 73 votes in favor and 38 opposed. The city of Toronto was thereupon declared to be the place of the next meeting.

Rev. Luther P. Ludden, of Nebraska, moved that the Executive Committee be authorized to fix the time of the next meeting. The motion was adopted.

The report of the committee as amended was then unanimously adopted by the Conference.

TWELFTH SESSION.

Wednesday Morning, June 10.

The Committee on Organization reported. The report will be found on pages x–xiii.

Moved by Michael Heymann, of New Orleans, La., that a special session of the National Conference of Charities and Correction be held in New Orleans, in the winter of 1896–97, at the discretion of the Executive Committee of the Conference. The motion was adopted by a vote of 34 ayes and 30 noes.

A minute with reference to the late John Glenn, for many years prominent and active in the Conference, and whose death had occurred since the Conference of 1896, was presented by Rev. Charles A. Jessup, of Baltimore, Md., as follows: —

Since the last meeting of this Conference, we have sustained a great loss in the death of John Glenn, Esq., of Baltimore. Mr. Glenn has been a constant attendant on our annual sessions since 1888, and was twice a vice-president of the Conference, besides serving constantly on some of its important committees. In 1889 he crossed the continent to attend its meetings in San Francisco, and it was in response to the cordial and earnest invitation which he then delivered that the Conference met in Baltimore the following year.

In his own city Mr. Glenn was foremost in advocating progressive and wise measures in dealing with the poor and delinquent. The Charity Organization Society, the Maryland School for the Blind, the Friendly Inn Association, the Electric Sewing Machine Rooms, and the Provident Savings Bank each claimed a large share of his time and thought, and in the governing boards of each of these organizations he served for many years. He was chairman of the executive committee of the Charity Organization Society for ten years, and this Society owes much of its efficiency, if not its very existence, to him. In the Maryland School for the Blind he had a specially deep and tender interest, as he himself had been deprived of the blessing of sight from the time when he reached his majority until the day of his death, forty-six years after.

This Conference desires to express its deep sense of the loss it has sustained in the death of Mr. Glenn, and its high appreciation of his services in its councils for many years, and to this end it directs that this minute be entered on its records.

In seconding the adoption of this minute, Mr. Robert Treat Paine said: —

I would offer words of affection and respect in connection with the memorial to Mr. Glenn. When I had the great honor of being chosen president of this Conference two years ago, I was quite ignorant of the duties, living at a distance, away in Massachusetts. Mr. Glenn, with that spirit of self-sacrifice that characterized him, travelled all across the country to see me and stay with me a few days and instruct me. Mr. Glenn was one of the men who brought strength and wisdom to the Conference. When I spoke, in my opening address, as president, a year ago of the pleasure, the counsel, the encouragement which this coming together brings to our members, I had John Glenn in my mind. Mr. Glenn had, first, that gentleness which almost always is imposed upon one's nature by blindness. He impressed us with gracious gentleness, but we presently found that underneath was a great personal force of character guided by a wise, unerring judgment, and his whole nature was permeated with devotion to this cause of human brotherhood. These few words I offer with heartfelt sincerity, admiration, and respect, to John Glenn. Phillips Brooks once said that the force of a man consisted in his ability to mould people by his personal influence. Who of us that knew Mr. John Glenn did not feel his strong and beautiful personal influence? When I was in Egypt I was interested in learning about the oldest document in the world, the Prysse papyrus, the oldest written record by man, and it contains this statement: that those who are endowed with peculiar powers owe to the world their use for the benefit of others. I do not think that that lofty principle has been illustrated better in my observation than by our dear blind John Glenn.

The memorial was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be made a part of the records of the Conference.

Alfred O. Crozier, of Grand Rapids, offered the following resolution : —

Resolved, by the National Conference of Charities and Correction, at its twenty-third annual session at Grand Rapids, Mich., that we regret the necessity which has induced Mr. John M. Glenn to decline a re-election as Treasurer of the Conference. We hereby extend the thanks of the National Conference to him for his untiring work, unswerving energy, and wise discretion, which have done so much to bring this great Conference to its present usefulness and influence. We trust and are confident we shall continue to enjoy his assistance and co-operation.

Adopted.

The regular program of the day was taken up, the general subject for discussion being "The Care of the Feeble-minded."

Paper by Ernest Bicknell, Indianapolis, Ind., on "Feeble-mindedness as an Inheritance" (page 219).

Report of the committee by Alexander Johnson, Fort Wayne, Ind., on "Permanent Custodial Care" (page 207).

DISCUSSION OF MR. BICKNELL'S PAPER.

Dr. KNIGHT, Connecticut. — I don't feel that I can add anything to what has been said on a subject of this kind. We have simply got to keep hammering at it; but when we take into consideration the statistics of feeble-mindedness as reported in the Census of 1880 and that of 1890 we see that something has been done by the institutions for the feeble-minded. Mr. Bicknell refers to the feeble-minded inheritance. Quite a per cent. does not come from feeble-minded parentage. A large per cent. does come from epileptic parentage, but not the necessarily epileptic feeble-minded. He referred to illegitimacy as largely coming from the feeble-minded. I do not agree with him. I have no facts to present; but I do not think a large per cent. of illegitimacy comes from the feeble-minded. The older superintendents of institutions have been studying these questions many years; but they have been unable to get at all the people outside of institutions. We appealed to our friends in Connecticut for some way to shut up a certain class of feeble-minded or to prevent the marriage of epileptics. The State of Connecticut, I think, is the first that has taken any action on this thing; and we have now a law which puts a penalty upon any sane man who knowingly connives at or agrees to the marriage of an epileptic man or woman. That law is operative in Connecticut; and the marriage of epileptics is absolutely prohibited.

Gen. BRINKERHOFF. — This is one of the things that the Board of State Charities in our State is going to make a stand for. I am

satisfied that we have got to go to the people. We have had line upon line and precept upon precept; but the masses of the people do not know anything about it, and we shall not get legislation until we reach the people. We have, in this paper of Mr. Bicknell's, just the facts that will appeal to the common mind,—material that we can use. I hope this report can be printed in form for distribution. We have in Ohio a Board of County Commissioners, three men and three women,—the best in the community,—in every county; and it is for this very matter of reaching the people. I am sure that by the time our next legislature meets (in two years) we shall have our people educated to the point.

Mr. HART.— The State of Minnesota has provision for six hundred feeble-minded. Dr. Knight was our superintendent during the early life of the institution; and he educated the people of Minnesota. There is a constant pressure of applications. When a man comes and wants to get some child in, I say to him, "You will have to wait for the next legislature, and get your representatives to put in a bill for an enlargement of the institution." Our buildings are excellent; but they sadly need enlargement. We could have, I think, 2,000. The demand is convincing and unanswerable.

Mr. WARNER, Wisconsin.—Wisconsin has been behind in the matter of this charity, not on account of the wants of the people, but there has been no appropriation of money for the work for the feeble-minded. At our last legislature the executive approved an appropriation giving us $100,000 to start this work. The State Board of Control, of which I have the honor to be president, was authorized to go on with it. The law also authorized us to look at other institutions in the United States. We have selected Chippewa Falls as the site for our institution. We have one of the finest springs that can be found anywhere,—an immense flow of water, absolutely pure and soft. We sent a committee of our board east to go through Massachusetts and confer with persons more experienced in this line, who reported plans. We hired our architect by the year and sent him to look at all these institutions and choose what he thought best and report to us. We have adopted what is called the cottage plan,—no building over two stories high, and the centre building three stories. So we think we are now on the road to a perfect institution of the kind. We have contracted for two buildings, one to be used for general purposes, and another for boys. Under the laws of Wisconsin, it is not only a school but a home. We take young and old.

Dr. POLGLASE, Lapeer, Mich.—With regard to our own State, I think we are in advance of the older States. Michigan has adopted the custodial plan and has a custodial institution. There is no limit as to age when inmates shall be discharged. All that we want now is to perfect the law at our next legislature and have it give further appropriation for taking in more of this class. We came within a

hair-breadth of getting $40,000 more at the last legislature. The cottage plan is the best plan to adopt. We have been delayed because, when the work came to be done, there were omissions of suitable provision for doing it properly. We have two little cottages and our business is done on a very economical plan. We have a central dining-hall. My idea — which I think the State of Michigan intended to follow out — was to provide for all classes, from the lowest to the highest grade of imbecile. I expect to say to the next legislature that we cannot do the business we have to do, by this plan. We must have changes and additions. When I entered I found provision only for the occupancy,—no provision for the care of the institution. We finally provided by patching up here and there, and making some more rooms, and so accomodated enough employees to open the building. The first thing, we had an epidemic of diphtheria, probably brought from the poorhouse; we took our patients from everywhere,—poorhouses, jails, etc. At that time we were not full, and we isolated the cases as best we could. Forty cases and two deaths were reported. We rented a building and were able to take out all these cases of sickness. Our institution has two hundred males and one hundred females. We have a school and several industrial departments, making their own clothing both for girls and boys.

THIRTEENTH SESSION.

Wednesday Night, June 10.

The Committee on Resolutions reported.

Your Committee on Resolutions begs to report the following for adoption: —

Resolved, That this Conference, before its adjournment and the dispersion of its members to their widely separated homes, desires to express its thanks for the hearty greeting it has received from all, for the public welcome and reception on the day of its arrival, as well as for the constant attention since devoted to it.

It also desires to make public recognition of the courtesy which induced the Governor of the State of Michigan, and the Mayor of the city of Grand Rapids, to leave the important functions of their official positions that they might extend a hearty welcome to us, and publicly express their appreciation of the value of the work undertaken by the Conference.

Thanks are also due to the citizens for the hospitable social reception given to our members; and the Conference is especially under obligations to the Local Committee of Arrangements, whose members, after making it possible to accept the invitation to this city of beautiful homes and vast business enterprises, have left no means untried to insure the success of the session of 1896.

We feel that our deepest thanks are due to Mrs. Fred E. Lee, of Dowagiac, Mich., who as an assistant to the General Secretary, and Mr. Harvey J. Hollister, who as chairman of the Reception Committee, and Mr. Alfred O. Crozier, who as Chairman of the Committee on General Arrangements, rendered indefatigable services in ministering to the comfort of the delegates and promoting the usefulness of our meetings.

The Conference also desires to publicly acknowledge its appreciation of the invitations to visit and inspect the State and municipal institutions, both charitable and correctional, which have proved an object-lesson of great value to all of its members.

Thanks are returned to the proprietors of the great industries for their invitation to observe the results of the persevering skill and labor which have contributed to the prosperity observable on every hand in the city of Grand Rapids, and to the *Democrat*, the *Herald*, the *Evening Press*, and the *Detroit Free Press*, for their painstaking and complete reports of the proceedings of the Conference, which have placed them before that larger public which we are seeking to influence for the good of humanity.

We also express our gratitude to the Ladies' Literary Club for the use for important sectional meetings of its beautiful audience room, as well as for the hospitality extended to the women of the Conference through the reception given on the afternoon of June 8; to the Park Congregational Church for the use of its quiet and commodious vestry for the meetings of the Reformatory Section, and the offering of its splendid auditorium for the annual Conference Sermon.

It would be vain to attempt to enumerate all the valuable services rendered by the local committees, by individuals, and by the citizens of Grand Rapids generally, and which have, each and all, contributed in large measure to the success of the Conference, and to the comfort, the convenience, and the pleasure of its every member; but it would be unfortunate to omit mention of the hospitality of the Lakeside Club, which gave free access to its beautiful Resort by the Lake, and afforded much refreshment to our members after the long sessions of work.

To all who have helped toward our success in the slightest degree we extend our heartfelt thanks, and we cannot refrain in doing so from saying that the very spirit of hospitality has prevailed during every hour of the stay of the Conference in the city, and in one short week has converted strangers into honored guests who take their leave with regret of a people which has showered favors upon them with a lavish hand.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

The resolutions were seconded by Dr. Walk, of Philadelphia. He congratulated the Conference especially on the success of the section meetings, and the attendance of the people of Grand Rapids.

President WRIGHT.— It is the last day and the last hour. We have been received so very admirably by the people of Grand Rapids and especially by the women of the Ladies' Literary Club and the St. Cecilia Society,— organizations of themselves worth coming to Grand Rapids to see what women can do,— that I appointed a committee of the women of the Conference to do something to show our appreciation. This committee will express in some degree the feeling of the members of the Conference.

Mrs. Williamson of New Jersey and Mrs. D'Arcambal of Michigan made brief addresses of gratitude.

Mr. Wright introduced Mr. Kelso, the representative from Toronto.

Mr. KELSO.— I thank you for the kind response I received last night. We have heard a good deal about annexation of Canada to the United States, but I think we came out ahead this time. I think

that it is one of the noblest thoughts that can animate us here, to think that these two places, fraternally allied, should feel stimulated by our being so united in this noblest of all works, the benefit of humanity. I think that is going to be a grand meeting in Toronto. We are all Americans; and when Americans from your States go to Toronto, they go away satisfied that our relative positions are all right, and we can get along as good friends, without annexation. We don't know what the future holds for us, but if in the future it should be the destiny of Canada to unite with the United States, it will only be brought about by subjecting the hearts of the American people. It can never be brought about by war or slavery: the only object will be mutual good. One of the speakers a few moments ago spoke of the sadness of parting, but what I have thought of is the pleasure we shall have in meeting every delegate next summer in one of the finest cities of the world.

President-elect Alexander Johnson was introduced.

Mr. JOHNSON.— Let me say to the dear friends of Grand Rapids that I am sure they have come right into our hearts. I little thought when called upon to make the first speech of this Conference that I should make the last one. I find myself in the highest office to which I am eligible, for I am not eligible to the presidency of the United States, and next to that I hold this the highest honor. When I think of the men who have preceded me in it I look forward to the work of the next year with deep humility and the thought that if I may do my part toward keeping the Conference up to the wonderful standing it has attained, it will be a wonderful thing to me.

Adjourned.

TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

JOHN M. GLENN, TREASURER, *in account with* NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION.

1895.	*Dr.*	
May 24.	To Balance in bank	$1,197.48
	Cash received proceeds of sales of Twenty-first (1894) and previous reports	680.75
	Cash received proceeds of sale of Twenty-second (1895) report	1,110.77
	Cash received proceeds of sale of Twenty-third (1896) report	1.25
	Cash received membership fees: —	
	Twenty-second Conference	672.00
	Twenty-third Conference	1,410.00
	Twenty-fourth Conference	15.00
	Cash received sales of *Charities Review*	10.00
	Cash received interest on deposits to Jan. 1, 1896	28.26
		$5,125.51

Cr.

By Cash paid account of Twenty-first Conference: —			
Geo. H. Ellis, postage, expressage, and binding			$68.36
By Cash paid account of Twenty-second Conference: —			
A. B. Falley, typewriting		$2.20	
J. E. Cates, special R.R. agent, services at New Haven		38.00	
H. H. Hart, Corresponding Secretary, balance of allowance for clerk-hire, etc., to Oct. 1, 1895	$400.00		
Postage, etc.	43.15	443.15	
Printing: —			
Rich & Clymer	$86.85		
Gibbs & Co.	5.00	91.85	
James H. Ross, advertising		110.00	
Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, postage		5.00	
Geo. H. Ellis, 2,500 copies of report of 572 pages, including composition, paper, presswork, electrotyping, binding, etc.	$2,251.00		
Express and postage	246.73		
2,000 copies, list of members, etc.	29.50	2,527.23	3,217.43
Carried forward			$3,285.79

Brought forward			$3,285.79
By Cash paid account of Twenty-third Conference: —			
H. H. Hart, Corresponding Secretary, account of clerk hire	$398.54		
Commission on new memberships	204.00		
Postage, etc.	264.29	$866.83	
Printing: —			
Rich & Clymer	$241.95		
Pioneer Press Co.	40.50		
Taylor & Gleason	10.50		
Charities Review, printing first announcement	280.00	572.95	
Charities Review, account of subscriptions		200.00	
James H. Humphreys, insurance premium to Sept. 11, 1896		6.52	
Geo. H. Ellis, express, postage, etc.		14.19	1,660.49
By balance in Provident Savings Bank			179.23
			$5,125.51

(E. & O. E.)

JUNE 1, 1896.

JOHN M. GLENN,
Treasurer.

Report of copies of Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction on hand Dec. 12, 1896: —

1874	cloth	18	paper	103			1887	cloth	28	paper	265	
1877	"	9					1888	"	68	"	41	
1878	"	5					1889	"	337	"	415	
1881	"	26					1890	"	44	"	137	
1882	"	33					1891	"	223	"	27	
1883	"	21	"	36			1892	"	190	"	254	
1884	"	24	"	145			1893	"	167			
1885	"	9					1894	"	238			
1886	"	31	"	17			1895	"	505			

LIST OF MEMBERS.

N.B.— Members who were in attendance at Grand Rapids are marked *.

ALABAMA.

Birmingham.

Beard, Thomas J.

Livingston.

Tutwiler, Miss Julia S., Principal, Ala. Normal College.

ALASKA.

Jackson, Rev. Sheldon, D.D., Bureau of Educ., Washington, D.C.

ARKANSAS.

Conway.

Millar, A. C., Pres., Hendrix College; Pres., Ark. Methodist Preacher's Institute.

CALIFORNIA.

Eldridge.

Osborne, Dr. Antrim Edgar, Supt., Home for the Care and Training of Feeble-minded Chdn.

Los Angeles.

Dillon, Henry C., 527 Stimson Bldg.
Lindley, Walter, M.D., Pres., Bd. of Directors of College Training Sch. for Nurses; Pres., Los Angeles Humane Soc., 315 W. 6th St.

Oakland.

Banning, B. R., Member, Asso. Char., 1219 Adeline St.
Borland, Mrs. Sarah C., Director, Asso. Char., etc., 1157 Franklin St.
McLean, John Knox, D.D., Pres., Pacific Theol. Seminary, 520 13th St.
Wendte, Rev. Chas. W., First Unitarian Church.

Pasadena.

Conger, Rev. E. L., D.D., Sec'y, Char. Org. Soc., 44 Orange Grove Ave.

San Francisco.

Associated Charities of San Francisco.
Brown, Charlotte B., M.D., 1212 Sutter St.
Bunnell, Jas. S.
Cooper, Mrs. Sarah B., Golden Gate Kindergarten Ass'n, 1902 Vallejo St. (Died Dec. 11, 1896.)
Davis, Horace, 1800 Broadway.
George, Miss Julia, 729 Sutter St.
Wadham, L., 530 California St.
Weaver, Mrs. Ellen A., 2021 California St.

Santa Paula.

Blanchard, Nathan W.

Stanford University.

Powers, H. H., Ph.D., Prof. of Economics, Leland Stanford, Jr., Univ.
Smith, Mrs. Albert W., Asst. Prof. of Sociology, Leland Stanford, Jr., Univ.
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